University of Alberta

Re: Producing Culture(s): the politics of knowledge production and the teaching of the literatures of Canada

by

Paul William Martin

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled Re: Producing Cultures: the Politics of Knowledge Production and the Teaching of the Literatures of Canada submitted by Paul William Martin in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Comparative Literature.

E.D. Blodgett

R. Dubé

R. Morrow

E.L. Bishop

M.V. Dimic

for D. Saint-Jacques

To Mona and Emily

for your love, faith, and friendship

Abstract

This thesis examines how knowledge production, in the form of university-level courses in English-Canadian, French-Canadian, Québécois, and Comparative Canadian literatures, both reflects and actively promotes very specific visions of Canadian identity. The literatures of Canada, a country with two official languages and a number of diverse cultural and linguistic groups, transcend the traditional boundaries of English and French language and literature departments and therefore become an ideal context in which to examine the often implicit political and social agenda(s) inherent in any country's study of its own national literature.

Chapters one and two are rooted in the history of the teaching of literature, but also in theories of the literary institution and national/cultural identity formation. This, together with a wealth of quantitative research found in chapters three and four which includes data from twenty-eight Canadian universities and interviews with ninety-five professors in the field, provides a powerful snapshot of the state of the Canadian literary institution, but also serves as a unique and elaborate case study of the political and social agendas intrinsic to the production of literary knowledge. As no one has ever done an investigation of this scope in Canada, this thesis should make a major contribution to the field's understanding of itself. More importantly, it helps to explain the role played by university courses in processes such as canonization, knowledge production, and cultural reproduction.

Acknowledgments

A mere thank you hardly seems enough when so many of the people I mention below have directly contributed to the completion of this dissertation. Some have simply been there to listen to my ideas and encourage me to follow through on them, while others taught me and inspired me to study literature long before I ever imagined I would pursue a PhD. From the beginning of my graduate career, though, it has been clear to me that while academic life might appear to be a solitary pursuit, it is actually a collaborative effort. My achievements to this point are my own, but they also belong to those who have helped shape me and who continue to do so on a daily basis.

It was perhaps the unique approach to my research – at least as far as literary studies are generally concerned – that brought me to recognize how much the success of it depended on many other people. Over the course of six weeks of interviews, I had memorable conversations with many people, but I would be remiss if I were to fail to mention the helpfulness, hospitality, and insightful responses offered to me by Stan Dragland, Margery Fee, James Steele, Lucie Robert, Max Roy, Roy Miki, Donna Smyth, Heather Murray, Seymour Mayne, Bernard Andrès, John O'Connor, Denis Saint-Jacques, Malcolm Ross, François Dumont, Dennis Duffy, Terry Goldie, Lorraine York, Frank Davey, Burke Cullen, Pierre Nepveu, Gwen Davies, Dennis Cooley, Jean Morency, Marie Vautier, Andy Wainwright, Carole Gerson, and Sherrill Grace.

Because the study of the teaching of the literatures of Canada is still a relatively unexplored field – especially in English Canada – it is also important here for me to note the influence of those who broke considerable ground before I even envisioned working in this area. Clearly, I would not have been able to

accomplish what I have without the benefit of the books and articles written by E.D. Blodgett, Margery Fee, Clément Moisan, Frank Davey, Max Roy, Nicole Fortin, Heather Murray, and Joseph Melançon. I am also indebted to several other writers, most notably Pierre Bourdieu, Jacques Dubois, Brian Doyle, and John Guillory, whose more theoretical work on the literary institution informed much of my approach to the data and history I examine in this dissertation.

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Naturally, the people who are best acquainted with the commitment of time, thought, and energy required to write a dissertation are the members of my family, who occasionally try to recall if there was ever a time when I was not a student. I have had tremendous support and encouragement from many members of my extended family, particularly Rose Martin, Bonnie Ladner, Cathy Martin, Kiera Ladner, Dale Jacobs, Dominique and Dolores Paquin, Victor and Sylvie Paquin, and Richard and Angie Paquin. I am also grateful for the support I received earlier on in my studies from several important people in my life who are no longer here: my Granny Marguerite Whyte, my Aunts Lynn and Heather,

and my grandfather Paul William Martin, whose name I carry with tremendous pride.

I am also very thankful for the support and endless encouragement I have received from my sister, Heidi LM Jacobs, and my parents, Jerome and Merle Martin, whose unfailing enthusiasm and belief in my abilities has helped me tremendously. Most importantly, my parents taught me to read, encouraged me to create, and fostered in me an enthusiasm for learning. For those gifts I will be eternally grateful.

Finally, I wish to thank the two people with whom I share my life and my love. The writing of this dissertation was marked in November 1999 by an event that has changed my life profoundly, the birth of Emily Elisabeth Martin. Her eyes, her smile, her laugh, and her heart remind me daily of what life is all about.

My deepest gratitude, however, is reserved for my wife, Mona, for if Emily has shown me what it is to live, Mona has shown me what it is to love. This dissertation would never have been completed without her love, strength, faith, patience, and dedication; there is as much of her heart and soul in the following pages as there is mine, perhaps even more. This accomplishment is ours.

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Foreword:

Points of Departure

On the sunny afternoon of October 5, 1997, I left Edmonton to begin my research for this dissertation. Over the course of nearly six weeks, I traveled by plane, train, and automobile from the prairies all the way to St. John's, Newfoundland and back again. By the time I was able to make an additional trip to the West coast in January, I had visited twenty-nine universities and interviewed 95 current and former professors with teaching and research interests in the literatures of Canada. This was but the beginning of my research; I envisioned my trip as an opportunity to get a lay of the land, both metaphorically and physically, and, that by doing this first, I would be able to tailor my approach to the issues, personalities, and histories I discovered along the way. From my own observations, the piles of course descriptions and university calendars I collected and sent in boxes back to Edmonton on a weekly basis, and, most crucially, the interviews I conducted with an incredible array of scholars in the field, I gained a perspective of the discipline I could not have achieved otherwise. Of an equally profound effect – and what has become inseparable from my current understanding of the literature – was the chance to experience, albeit fleetingly, life in every province of Canada. For me, this was a revelation that was also profoundly ironic and unsettling, given that I left Edmonton with a somewhat negative attitude towards any nationalistic attempts to link literature overly closely with place, region, or cultural identity.

Ultimately, however, my experiences crossing the country proved to me not the error of my ways, but rather just how much is wrong with how we continue to teach the literatures of Canada, particularly in this country's English-language universities.

My interest in this topic stems from my experiences as an undergraduate pursuing a combined Honours degree in English and French language and literature at the University of Alberta. Faithfully following the requirements of my program, it was not until my final year that I took any courses on the literatures of Canada. I expected at the time, particularly with regard to my English course in "Canadian Literature," that these courses might be the ones that could bridge the gulf between my studies of English and French literatures. For reasons that I will spend much of this dissertation exploring, this was not to be the case. My English and French professors rarely, if ever, alluded to the other literatures of this country, and many of them appeared to know little about them. Taking these two programs at the same time, then, offered me a considerable opportunity for reflection, not only about the literatures themselves, but also about the nature of the literary institution and the way these departmental divisions arbitrarily fracture our knowledge of literary production in Canada solely based on the language of expression and instruction. Anyone in a university setting who has the opportunity to work out of two departments or to pursue any serious type of interdisciplinary research quickly comes to understand that there is no such thing as "the ivory tower." Rather, there sit side by side numerous windowless towers of knowledge, each seeming to have only a small entrance and no discernable exit. As with any closed society, the motives of

anyone more than politely interested in what goes on elsewhere are often deemed questionable by those content and secure in their own confinement.

It is precisely this lack of communication between colleagues, departments, and universities themselves that has had the greatest influence on the nature of my work in this dissertation. In some ways, my discussion of the issues is more general than I would like it to be. The challenge for anyone studying the literary institution in English Canada is that there has been relatively little work done on the topic. Moreover, much of what has been written, save the work of a few scholars including Frank Davey, Robert Lecker, and Heather Murray, either takes the form of articles in lesser known journals or, like Margery Fee's influential thesis "English-Canadian Literary Criticism, 1890-1950: Defining and Establishing a National Literature," remains unpublished. As far as the study of the teaching of the literatures of Canada is concerned, therefore, I have needed to devote a good portion of my discussion to basic questions that, until now, have remained unanswered and, most importantly, unasked. Because there has already been a considerable amount of work done in Québec in this field and because my research time was limited, the latter chapters of this dissertation focus more on the teaching of the Canadian literatures within the countries English-language universities.

This is not to say, however, that these sections be of less use to Québécois scholars and professors. In May of 2001, I delivered a paper as part of a conference on Canadian literary histories that was co-sponsored by the Association of Canadian and Québécois Literatures and the Université Laval's Centre de recherche en littérature québécoise. In it, I suggested that, when one compares the research and teaching of Québécois literature at French-language

universities in Québec and that of English-Canadian literature in Canada's English-language universities, it is clear that the Québécois literature specialists' knowledge of Québécois literature and literary history is at least thirty years ahead of English-Canadian literature specialists' understanding of English-Canadian literature(s) and literary histories. As I watched the reaction of my audience, it was difficult to determine who seemed more surprised by this assertion, the francophones or the anglophones. What was clear from this response, however, is that each community of scholars could benefit immensely from a greater awareness and understanding of the literature, criticism, and literature curricula of the other. It is only once professors researching and teaching courses in any or all of the literatures of Canada gain such perspective that they can begin to make the types of meaningful curricular change that are needed to increase our knowledge of the literatures of Canada.

With the aim of exposing both the history and current practices of the teaching of the literatures of Canada, this dissertation begins with a chapter on the history of English and French studies and the eventual place of the literatures of Canada in university-level literature programs in Canada. The foundations of literary studies in Canada are essential to understand, for they continue to shape the field to this day in ways that we rarely notice. The second chapter complements the first by providing the theoretical basis for much of what I will argue in chapters three and four. By rooting much of my work in Bourdieu's theories of the market of symbolic goods and the process of cultural reproduction and those of Dubois on the workings of the literary institution, I set the stage for what the quantitative aspects of my research will reveal. One of the primary premises of the second chapter, in other words, is that the work of

Dubois and particularly Bourdieu offers some fundamental explanations as to why, for instance, the literatures of Canada are represented as they are in literature departments across the country or why there has been such a tremendous lack of serious disciplinary self-evaluation, especially on the part of English departments in Canada. More important, perhaps, is that the specificities of the situation of the literatures of Canada within Canadian departments of literature enable us to explore the larger question of the central role within the literary institution played by universities and their relevant departments.

The third chapter of this dissertation details the research I conducted while visiting the twenty-nine universities and contains my analysis of the data I collected. It also illustrates the enormity of the task I set for myself. Though I have managed to acquire a wealth of information brought together here for the very first time, the exploratory nature of this research also points to a great deal of work that remains for myself and other researchers to pursue in the future. Chapter three includes much of the quantitative analysis of my data, including a breakdown of the place of courses on the literature of Canada in the curriculum of each of the departments I visited. Also part of this chapter is an analysis of the types of courses offered at these institutions and a detailed list and analysis of the books that are taught as part of these courses. This material has never been collected before and offers us, therefore, some interesting insight into how course structures and curricula affect the canon, or at least the canon of texts that we teach in the classroom. Although a lack of time and resources made it impossible for me to acquire the same degree of information from French-language universities in Québec as I did from most of their English counterparts from the rest of the country, the comparison between the structures of the two systems is,

I believe, one of the most revealing aspects of this chapter. Specifically, it offers a strong contrast to the system in English Canada and proves how other models could alter and certainly increase our understanding of the literature(s) of English Canada.

Some of the most illuminating data I collected, however, is difficult to quantify and comes from the personal interviews I conducted with 95 professors and instructors of courses on the literatures of Canada. Rather than focusing on which books were taught and in which courses, as I do in chapter three, in chapter four I deal with how the literature was taught. Through an analysis of the responses I received to the primary set of questions I asked every subject, I discuss how the teaching of the literatures of Canada is influenced by factors including the training of the professor, his or her attitude towards the canon, his or her willingness to be influenced by the curriculum and notions of coverage, and finally the question of cultural nationalism(s). It would be impossible in a single dissertation to address all of the information, stories, and history I recorded in each of these interviews, which together form an incredibly rich, if still a patchwork, oral history of the teaching of the literatures of Canada. For the purpose of this project, what these interviews help to provide is less the details of each professor's teaching practices and more an overall sense of their general attitudes towards the literature and their teaching of it.

The interviews with professors are clearly the part of my research that surprised me the most. The opportunity to meet ninety-five other specialists in the field was a phenomenal one from which I learned many things, not the least of which was a much greater sense of the discipline's history than I possessed when setting out on my trip. Aside from being able to have many lengthy

conversations on the topic of the teaching of the literatures of Canada with the people I interviewed, the vast majority of whom were supportive, forthcoming, and enthusiastic, I also received from them mentorship, fellowship, new approaches to my topic that I had not yet considered, and even the occasional free lunch and night's accommodation. It was, in many ways, a strange sensation to visit so many places and meet so many people in such a short time; I frequently visited five different universities per week and interviewed upwards of half a dozen people each day. The more I travelled, the more I felt a kinship with the protagonists of the road novels and movies I so enjoy to read and watch. Feeling on some days like Jack Waterman in Jacques Poulin's novel Volkswagen Blues and on others like Pokey in Bruce McDonald's film Highway 61, I was the one in constant motion, stopping only momentarily on my own odyssey to encounter people and experiences, the significance of which I would be left to ruminate on over the course of the journey to my next stop.

For me, this experience continually brought into relief the contrast between the state of perpetual motion in which I found myself and the stasis of the role of the university professors I met, each at a particular point in careers begun and likely to end at the same institution, each seemingly confined to their own solitary and unchanging office spaces, while I was never in the same room, let alone town, for more than a day. This same contrast seemed to exist on a psychological level as much as it did on the physical. As I became increasingly acquainted with the state of teaching of the literatures of Canada at more and more institutions, I was reminded more and more of the passage from Edward Said 's article "Opponents, Audiences, Constituencies, and Community" that I have chosen as an epigraph for the fourth chapter of this dissertation: "Confined

to the study of one representational complex, literary critics accept and paradoxically ignore the lines drawn around what they do" (20). While Said's observation initially had the most resonance for me with the way in which most anglophone and francophone scholars of the literatures of Canada conveniently ignore all that literature and criticism not written in their own language, it soon became clear to me that this is also true on a departmental level. With just a handful of exceptions, nearly every professor with whom I spoke had no knowledge of what types of course other departments offered in the field and frequently had little knowledge of how colleagues in their own department taught the subject. It is as if many professors reside in a voluntary state of house arrest; moreover, not only do they seem uninterested in leaving to see what their neighbourhood looks like, they are also frequently unable to tell me the colour of their own house.

While I may seem here to be a making a scathing indictment of the profession, declaiming professors as being mired in self-interest and unwilling to reflect on what they and others do, I am not. My observation, rather, is simply a confirmation of Bourdieu's theories as to the efficacy of the university as a site of institutional and, on a larger scale, cultural reproduction. It deliberately creates and rewards cultural agents whose work is to perpetuate the current system and the dominant culture, both of which could be threatened by accommodating models that work in markedly different ways from their own. As Said observes,

> a principle of silent exclusion operates within and at the boundaries of discourse; this has now become so internalized that fields, disciplines, and their discourses have taken on the status of immutable durability. [. . .] To acquire a position of authority within the field is, however, to be involved

> internally in the formation of a canon, which usually turns out to be a blocking device for methodological and disciplinary self-questioning. (16)

One of the goals of my research, therefore, is to try to uncover and make more visible some of those "lines drawn around what [we] do" (20) for it is these parameters that help us to avoid questioning how we study the literatures of our own country and finding ways we might improve this process.

One of the most obvious ways in which we structure our knowledge of the literatures of this country, and one which is shaped primarily by this division of knowledge into separate and isolationist fields, is the referents we employ when speaking of them. Throughout this dissertation I have chosen to speak as much as possible of "the literatures of Canada" rather than choosing other, less satisfactory options, especially the ubiquitous use of the terms "Canadian literature" to refer to everything in this country written in English and "Québécois literature" to represent everything written in French. The latter terms, to my mind, are especially problematic because of the ways they are used to oversimplify these bodies of literature and to exclude those writers and works that do not fall within these narrow definitions. The most notable example of this is the frequent practice of scholars and critics to exclude from their vision of "Canadian literature" all literature written in languages other than English, most notably Québécois literature in French. However, the term "Canadian literature" when envisioned in the most inclusive manner – or reworked as "Canadian Literature(s)" to denote the existence of more than one Canadian literature – is also problematic for the nation of Canada remains at the centre.

The terms "Canadian Literature in English" and "Canadian literature in French" have similar connotations with the emphasis that they place on the nation and the suggestion that both bodies of work are a part of a single Canadian literature. Furthermore, one could also understand these terms to encompass works in translation. "Canadian literature in English," for example, could include Roy's The Tin Flute or Ringuet's Thirty Acres while the French equivalent could include Hugh MacLennan's Deux Solitudes or Findley's Guerres, as is clearly illustrated by the fact that the former titles are both part of the "New Canadian Library" series published by McClelland & Stewart (who, not coincidentally, refer to themselves as "The Canadian Publisher") and the latter are part of the "Bibliothèque Québécoise" series of inexpensive paperbacks. This same problem applies to the use of the terms "English-Canadian literature" or "Anglophone Canadian literature" and "French-Canadian literature" or "Francophone Canadian literature" which posits the writer's cultural and linguistic background as a key point of separation between "the two" literatures. Such terminology ultimately lumps together, for instance, Acadian literature, Québécois literature, and other francophone writing from across the country when these are all quite separate literatures with varying degrees of interaction. The greatest difficulty with seeing Canadian literature as characterized by a binary structure of any sort, such as the double helix model articulated by Philip Stratford, is that such a vision works to erase difference between regions and cultures and, more crucially, marginalizes literatures of Canada in other languages, and especially those of Canada's First Peoples.[1]

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[1] The exclusion of Native literatures from this conception of Canadian literature(s), of course, also

One of the possible ways to avoid many of these assumptions is to speak simply of the literatures of Canada. As I envisage it, one benefit of this terminology is that it places the literature at the centre and moves the issue of nation(s) more toward the periphery. The distinction between referring to "the literatures of Canada" and "Canadian literature(s)" – a term which has served an important purpose in reminding its audience that one cannot justifiably imagine there to be only a single Canadian literature – may seem to be minimal. Nevertheless, by removing Canada from the centre of the equation and limiting the connotation of some sort of precedence on the part of the nation, however, my preferred terminology will likely be more acceptable to those constituencies who would reject any vision of themselves as being an example of a *Canadian* literature. Speaking of "the literatures of Canada" also opens the door a bit wider for literary scholars to conceive of Canada more as a highly complex literary space than as a difficult-to-define grouping together of mostly separate cultures and language groups. More importantly, the use of terminology that, unlike those rooted around a text or author's language of origin, does not immediately identify a text as belonging to either one category or another, makes it easier to imagine that text to be part of more than one category at the same time. The works of Antonine Maillet, for instance, can be considered to be part of Acadian literature, Atlantic Canadian literature, a larger grouping of French-Canadian literatures, while also having affiliations with Québécois literature as she has lived and worked in Québec for many years. In other words, by starting to look at literary works from Canada as interacting in complex and non-exclusive ways

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makes it far simpler to consider the term "Literature" as signifying only written texts.

with everything from questions of nation, region, language, and cultural or ethnic groups, to literary genres, literary movements or styles, and influences from within and without Canada, we can begin to understand the literatures of this country in a way that takes into account its rich intricacies rather than conveniently overlooking them.[2] This type of approach, it is crucial to note here, is rooted firmly within the paradigm of Comparative Literature, and is one which has been articulated in the Canadian context through the work of scholars such as E.D. Blodgett and M.V. Dimic. Unfortunately, in terms of the research and teaching done by the vast majority of Anglophone and Francophone scholars of the literatures of Canada, has ultimately proven to be the road not taken in Canadian literary studies.

The issues surrounding the ways in which we refer to and envision the literatures of Canada are the reason why I chose and, four years later, continue to be engaged by this research topic. My hope is that the data I have collected and my interpretations of it and the history of the discipline will demonstrate the insidious oversimplification inherent in how we currently teach, study, and think of the literatures of Canada The most obvious process through which this occurs in academia is in the division of the literatures of Canada into two separate subjects, English-Canadian literature or, more commonly "Canadian Literature" and Littérature québécoise, the study of which is handled by two separate departments with little if any interaction between them. As my dissertation will

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[2] On a larger scale, speaking of the literatures of Canada can also allow us to take into account marginalized genres such as science fiction and romance fiction. One of the most successful Canadian publishing ventures ever remains that of Harlequin Romance, founded in Winnipeg in 1949. Why such genres are rarely examined in the context of the literatures of Canada has far more to do with the definitions of "Literature" espoused by university literature departments than it does the significance of these bodies of work.

demonstrate, the primary reason that there have only been scattered attempts to overcome this division, such as through courses in Comparative Canadian Literature, is that to look at the literatures of Canada through anything other than this separatist framework disturbs and throws into question our erroneous belief that there is some logical and understandable continuum or pattern of growth in which each literature has developed. The specious unity that such a model imposes on the respective literatures of English Canada and French Québec, of course, is required for the self-reproduction of the literary institution and the universities' role in it. There is, as I will elaborate on more in the afterword, a tremendous opportunity for scholars and teachers today to begin to question the myriad assumptions that current course structures and literature curricula make on a daily basis; as Québec's three largest French universities have proven so well, with a diversity of courses and a greater place in the curriculum for the literatures of Canada comes a far greater understanding of the literatures themselves. There remains, however, much work to be done to bring the community of scholars I interviewed and the departments I visited to the point where such transformation will be possible. In this dissertation, I do not presume to have all the answers, but I do pinpoint some of the questions we need to ask before we can make any significant steps to acknowledging through our literature curricula the tremendous complexity of Canada as a literary space.

Chapter One

The 'people's literature':

histories of the teaching of the literatures of Canada

Over the course of my visits to Canadian universities, it became clear that the vast majority of professors with whom I spoke believe that the study of English and French literatures is more open today than ever before – that, in fact, the presence of a significant number of courses on the literatures of Canada is in itself proof of the academy's willingness to break the bounds of its formerly restrictive notions of English and French literature. In fact, many suggested to me the position of the literatures of Canada in the university curriculum of today is accepted and relatively unchallenged, a situation very different than even twenty or thirty years ago when many of them were treated by their colleagues as if the literatures of Canada did not merit serious attention. It is my contention, however, that this apparent acceptance is due as much to a gradual shift in approach on the part of Canadianists that aligns them much more with the traditional objectives of a department of English or Études françaises as it is to a growing appreciation of the literatures of Canada by non-Canadianists. This is particularly true in English-Canada where scholars who have long awaited the day when English-Canadian literature would be seen as a recognized national literature worthy of study on its own merits have finally reached a point where *contemporary* English-Canadian literature is considered as relevant and important subject of study as the contemporary literatures of Britain and the United States.

In Québec, this sense of equality was arrived at quite a bit earlier, in part because of particular methodologies and institutional structures which permitted a more scientific study of Québécois literature. To determine if the place of the literatures of Canada has truly changed, however, one needs to look beyond the plethora of possible courses and critical approaches today's students can follow to the very origins of English and French literary studies at Canadian universities and then to the history of how the two principal literatures of Canada eventually became the subject of dedicated courses within the university curriculum.

Given the history of Canada, it should not be surprising that when, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the study of literature in the vernacular languages began to take the place of the Classics, the English-language and French-language universities of Canada focused their respective attention on the national literatures of Britain and France. These literatures became so dominant, in fact, that it was only after decades of debate, that works by Canadian writers ever found their way into the curriculum and much longer before entire courses on Canadian literature were ever offered. Furthermore, once such courses were finally put into place, many of them could not be taken for credit by English majors or honours students; Canadian literature, in other words, was effectively deemed irrelevant for students specializing in the study of literature and a nice diversion for students without a serious interest in studying English literature. When the surge of nationalism in the late 1960s and early 1970s finally brought a great call for courses in the literatures of Canada, many English-language universities in Canada found themselves ill-equipped to meet the demand. The relative lack of attention previously given by English departments to the

literatures of Canada meant that many of the "Canadianists" who began teaching at the time had no training in the field.

French-language universities, on the other hand, were undoubtedly better prepared, in part because of their awareness of the need to preserve and further their own culture but also due to the efforts of figures such as Camille Roy who, early on, saw the need to work towards a "nationalisation de la littérature" (Camille Roy 187). This is not to say, however, that scholars of French-Canadian and Québécois literature never felt marginalized in their own institutions. As most Francophone professors I interviewed related to me, even in the 1960s, French-Canadian literature was not considered to be material worthy of doctoral research; moreover, a doctorate from a French university earned one much greater academic credibility and respect than one from an institution in Québec. In fact, it has only been in the last thirty years or so that the literatures of Canada have come to be considered by the academic mainstream as being of interest for their literary value rather than simply as representations or emanations of the Canadian peoples. As I will begin to argue in this chapter, though, in spite of this apparent escape from the shadows of British and French literatures, the eventual incorporation and acceptance of the literatures of Canada in university curricula, and the slow move away from a nationalistic motive for studying them, much of this historical baggage still plays a prominent – and perhaps even dominant – role in today's courses on the literatures of Canada.

It is not a coincidence that the nineteenth century saw the introduction in Britain and France of university-level instruction in the national literatures of those countries. While the Classics had long been considered the ideal material for a true humanistic education, certain conditions, both social and political,

eventually turned the focus of literary education away from the Classics and Belles-Lettres to the literature written in the vernacular of each nation. The French Revolution and the subsequent decades of political turmoil in France made it apparent to both the French and the English élites that the only way to have some sort of control over the masses – or at least to be somewhat certain there would be no massive revolt – was through education and, especially, inculcation of the notion that there were certain common ideals that superseded the class and economic structures that were no longer simply accepted by many. In England, the Industrial Revolution, an increased recognition by the people of their own power, a growing rate of literacy, and a growing questioning of the value of Empire were increasingly threatening to destroy the metanarratives that placed political, economic, and social privilege as a birthright. For the "educationalists, politicians, and political theorists [searching] for new and more efficient ways of building and disseminating a national sense of ancestry, tradition, and universal 'free' citizenship" – which not coincidentally would help to maintain the hegemony and ensure the continuation of England's role and status as a world power – mass education for the working class and for women in the "English subjects," that is to say English language, history, and literature, seemed the ideal means to this end (Doyle, English and Englishness 25).

English literature, then, became an essential component in the adult education movements of the nineteenth century. For instance, the Mechanics' Institutes, of which there were five hundred by 1850, aimed to provide men with a more scientific and theoretical form of vocational training; they nearly always, however, also "included lectures on English literature in their programmes, and through their libraries they enabled many members to develop the reading habit

and to make acquaintance with the national literature" (Palmer 31). In fact, as James Hole revealed in his 1853 essay lamenting the decline in the "instructive" subjects at these institutions, "[lectures] on literature had increased to more than half the total" (Palmer 33). As this emphasis on bringing national culture to the masses continued through the extension movement and the founding of institutions such as the Working Men's College in 1854 (35), the education of women became another locus of early education in English literature. A significant moment in this movement was, undoubtedly, the founding in 1848 of the Queen's College for Women in London. Charles Kingsley, the first Professor of English at Queen's, argued in his opening lecture that the "reading of English literature (to include modern works) would help towards an understanding of the 'English spirit,' thus counteracting the notion that 'the minds of young women are becoming un-English'" (Doyle, "Hidden History" 24).

In both cases, the teaching of English was seen as a sort of "missionary work addressed to the cultural colonization of the great mass of the excluded population" (English and Englishness 19). "'By means of [English] literature,'" wrote Reverend H. G. Robinson in an 1860 essay entitled "On the Uses of English Classical Literature in the Work of Education," "'it seems to me that we might act very beneficially on the national mind, and do much to refine and invigorate the national character'" (Palmer 45). Importantly, as Brian Doyle reminds us in his article "The Hidden History of English Studies," for "English" to be effective on both social and political levels, it needed to construct itself in such a way that it "carr[ied] the sense of an unproblematic national cultural heritage" (18) – a tendency comically pointed to in Kingsley Amis' Lucky Jim when a drunken Jim Dixon concludes his disastrous public lecture on "Merrie England" with the

remark that "Merrie England [. . .] was about the most un-Merrie period in our history" (227). "Thus," writes Doyle, "'the English language' and 'the national literature' in dominant definitions, represent ratifications of a selective sense of culture and history, or comfortable affirmations of certain structures and forms of cultural authority" (18).

Like the English, the French too used the teaching of an oversimplified concept of cultural history to propagate what Étienne Balibar refers to as a "fictive ethnicity" (Balibar 96):

> No nation possesses an ethnic base naturally, but as social formations are nationalized, the populations included within them, divided up among them or dominated by them are ethnicized – that is, represented in the past or in the future *as if* they formed a natural community, possessing of itself an identity of origins, culture and interests which transcends individuals and social conditions. (96)

Thus, while the educational reforms of the Third Republic, for example, "reflected the passionate republican belief [. . .] that education was the instrument of democracy, social progress, and popular emancipation," they "were also inspired by nationalism, using the school to break down regional loyalties and form French citizens; this entailed the imposition of standard French, and a war against *patois* and non-French languages" ("Education" 273). To make French the national language and the cornerstone of the national identity was no small task: a 1790 survey of fifteen million French citizens found that only three million of those people were Francophones by birth and six million spoke no French whatsoever (Calvet 166). The Third Republic's emphasis on French as

the nation's official language positioned French literature as being superior to that written in other languages: "les autres langues de l'hexagone peuvent produire de la poésie populaire, le français, lui, produit de la littérature: la nuance est importante et caractéristique du siècle" (174). As this quote from Calvet's Linguistique et colonialisme implies, while the dissemination of these constructed notions of a "national" language and tradition – "sans se demander d'ailleurs s'il y a vraiement *une* nation" (174) – allowed France and England to begin to see themselves reflected in the influential Romantic nationalist ideas of Rousseau and Herder, it also permitted them to present a more unified vision of themselves to the world and, particularly, to their colonial subjects. Just as the United States in the twentieth century has prospered by creating – out of a complex conglomeration of diverse peoples, regions, and histories – an image for itself as the world's great democratic, freedom-loving, melting pot, France and England found the concept of a single and definable national identity to be a mobilizing force for its own citizens and justification of its superiority as a colonial power.

Given the usefulness of such a national image in the colonial enterprise, it is not surprising that, as critics such as Gauri Viswanathan, Margery Fee, and Heather Murray have noted, the development of English studies in the colonies predates by decades their integration into the curriculum at British universities. Viswanathan, in her important book Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India (1989), details how "English" education of the native population "was seen by England to be a colonial intervention" (11) that would "civilize" and thus "free" the people of India. Of course, as Viswanathan points out, "the question of how England [could] serve the people of India blends

indistinguishably with the question of how power [could] best be consolidated" (15). The teaching of English literature in India began shortly after the 1813 Charter Act under which Britain assumed "new responsibility toward native education" (23) and was further institutionalized with Governor General W. Bentinck's English Education Act of 1835 which "officially required the natives of India to submit to the study of English literature" (45). English literature was initially seen by Bentinck and other British officials as a perfect vehicle for the "dissemination of moral and religious values" while still maintaining the pretense of religious non-interference (44). Eventually, though, it was recognized that religious conversion was not an achievable goal and that English literature was a more effective tool when the focus was shifted "from the centrality of universal Christian truths to the legitimacy and value of British institutions, laws, and government" (95). Of course, this secularization of the goals of public education occurred at home in England and France too, marking "a relocation of cultural value from belief and dogma to language, experience, and history" (117). Still, there was an additional aspect to teaching and promotion of the "national literature" to the colonized; in the case of both England and France, it was hoped that a "grafting of [their] literary achievements onto the cultural system of the colonies [would] further assur[e] the survival of the [national] culture, leaving a 'monument more imperishable than the pyramids of Egypt'" (115).

The early history of English studies in Canada is marked by a similar agenda to ensure that the citizens of Canada would recognize and help to further the greatness of the British tradition. Yet, unlike the situation in India, this was not a case of the colonizer trying to "civilize" the indigenous population which, in Canada, was minute compared to the size of the land and, in many cases, had

already suffered through centuries of subjugation. It was, rather, more like the situation in Britain where there was seen to be a need to introduce women and the lower classes to the characteristics of the national mind. What is especially striking about the early history of university-level English studies in Canada – and what helps explain why they predate similar courses at most British universities – is that this push for the furthering of Canada's Englishness came from within rather than without. As we will see, the élites in English Canada saw the study of English as a way to ensure the Englishness of a country that had a significant francophone population and, during the last half of the nineteenth century, that was experiencing a huge growth in immigration. It was not uncommon during this period for newspaper editorials and political speeches to call for English to be *the* national language and culture of Canada and, thus, for the assimilation of all other linguistic and cultural groups (Morgan 290). Those "loyalists" saw a great need for a kind of English education, then, that would focus on "inculcating the ideals of British culture. [. . .] The primary interests of newly formed English departments, therefore, coalesced with those of the cultural elite outside of English studies programs " (Hubert and Garrett-Petts 14). As George Ross, Ontario's first minister of education and a future Premier, stated to the London Advertiser in 1900: "There is no antagonism in my opinion between Canadianism and Imperialism. The one is but the expansion of the other. To be a true Canadian, under existing conditions, is to place yourself in harmony with the spirit of the empire" (Morgan 297).

Initially, explains Robin S. Harris in his History of Higher Education in Canada, "the arts curricula" at Canadian universities "were purely derivative – the model whether English, Scottish, Irish or American is readily seen" (37).

During the 1850s though, these universities began to diverge from these models as they sought ways to "respon[d] to the conditions of Canadian life" (37). While Classics remained a primary focus of an arts education, by 1860 the study of English had become mandatory for undergraduates, although at that time "the main concern of teachers of English was with English language" (49). The 1850s and 1860s saw some growth in the place of English in the university. In 1853, for instance, the University of Toronto appointed the first Canadian Professor of English, Daniel Wilson (a joint appointment with History), and in 1858 – only one year after the first American Chair of English was founded at Lafayette College (Shumway 96) – McGill University established a Chair of English language and literature (Harris, English Studies at Toronto 7).

It was really only in the 1880s that English studies began to take a prominent position in the Canadian curricula, becoming "the rising subject in the humanities" while interest in Greek and Latin declined noticeably (History of Higher Education 138). The growing demand for a broader role for English studies was reflected by appointments of professors of English at Dalhousie, Queen's, and Toronto during this decade (138). The first full professorship of English was established at Dalhousie in 1884 with the appointment of W.J. Alexander, who left in 1889 to become Professor of English Language and Literature at University College at the University of Toronto. The fact that by 1890 five major Canadian universities all had dedicated English professors is extremely significant when one considers that the subject was only just beginning at the most important institutions in Britain. As Heather Murray notes,

> By the 1900s, then, while the Oxbridge study of English was in its infancy (although studies at London and the Scottish universities had been in place

> much earlier), and while cases for vernacular study were still being mustered in the U.S. academy, the study of literature as literature – a so-called 'rhetorical' or even 'aesthetic' criticism – was as much as sixty years old in English Canada. (198)

English studies continued to grow in popularity and influence in Canada partly because of the impression that it best fulfilled the ideals of Arnoldian humanism; a system in which students were exposed to "the best that is known and thought in the world" (Arnold 38), Arnold and his followers believed, would awaken those students to the political, moral, and aesthetic ideals of their society. By the end of the First World War, English "was a core subject in virtually every arts and science program in English-speaking Canada" and during the inter-war period had achieved such a status that "no subject enjoyed more prestige" (McKillop 227, 465).

The rapid and distinct development of English studies in Canada serves as a prime example of what Viswanathan labels the "danger of reading the history of modern English studies as an uninterrupted narrative" (168). From its earliest stages in Canada, in other words, English grew in different directions and for other reasons than it did in other parts of the world. This is not to say, however, that similar concerns over the production and reproduction of "Englishness" were not present throughout the development of English studies in Canada. As mentioned above, when English studies began in Canada it was recognized by its supporters and practitioners as a means of humanistic enlightenment but also as a means of propagating a vision of Canada as a logical extension, both politically and culturally, of the British Empire. This latter understanding of English not only persisted well into the twentieth century, but became even stronger after the

publication of the Newbolt Report, The Teaching of English in England, in 1921. "English," the report argued, "is not merely the medium of our thought, it is the very stuff and process of it. It is itself the English mind, the element in which we live and work" (20). Equally important, then, was the notion that the study of English was the key to building and perpetuating a "common" (English) culture:

> the common right to [such an education], the common discipline and enjoyment of it, the common possession of the tastes and associations connected with it, would form a new element of national unity, linking together the mental life of all classes by experiences which have hitherto been the privilege of a limited section. (15)

Much like E.D. Hirsch's relatively recent theories of 'cultural literacy,' of course, the Newbolt report does not advocate looking for and finding value in what all segments of society have in common but, rather, promotes imposing on the rest of society those values and traditions deemed important by the cultural élite. As Robert Morgan points out, these ideas were embraced by English-Canada's own cultural élite and promoted by departments of English that were continuing to grow in size and influence (316). Even while developments such as the New Criticism saw scholars working to position English as a more professional and scientific discipline, many felt that the aim should still be towards the glorification of the British tradition and the inculcation of a sense of Britishness in students, a notion which was, in Canada at least, as much anti-American as it was pro-British. Exemplars of this attitude during the 1940s and 1950s, Morgan reveals, were University of Toronto professors H.V. Routh, whose The Diffusion of English Culture (1941) counseled teachers of English to see

themselves as "'British emissaries' disseminating 'British culture' in colonial settings," and Malcolm Wallace who, in his English Character and the English Literary Tradition (1952), "revived Kipling's notorious phrase, 'the white man's burden,' remarking that 'it's ceasing to be a phrase for cynicism'" (317). Thus, although English was often touted as leading students towards a universal humanism, it also aimed to counteract and ultimately to nullify the effect of Canada's non-English and non-white population.

Partly because of a very different educational system, that of the collèges classiques, the study of literature developed much differently at French-language institutions of higher learning. The college system in Québec – and, it is important to note, the history of higher education in Canada – began in New France with the establishment in 1635 of a Jesuit college at Québec. While that college initially served as little more than a primary school for the children of settlers, by the 1660s it was offering the full *cours classique*, a seven or eight year program leading ultimately to the baccalauréat ès arts. A mainstay of education in France, the cours classique remained the basis of higher education in Québec until the formation of the CÉGEP (Collège d'enseignement général et professionel) system in the mid 1960s (Harris, History of Higher Education 14-15). While the education provided by the collèges classiques – there were seven in existence by 1840 and close to 200 by 1960 (Melançon et al., Le Discours d'une didactique 28) – there was, from fairly early on, some coverage of French literature in the Belles-Lettres course. Nevertheless, as late as the 1850s, though, Belles-Lettres and Rhetoric were only two classes in the whole eight year program and these classes used examples from Greek, Latin, and, to a lesser degree, French and English literatures (History of Higher Education 38-39). The

influence of French language and literature grew in 1880, however, when the French government made changes to the baccalauréat curriculum – such curricular changes were nearly always also enacted in Canada – which replaced Latin composition with French and increased the presence of French poetry, prose, and literary history (Melançon et al. 239). Ten years later, the "dissertation française" became another required element of the baccalauréat and French literature increasingly became the subject of this written work (239-240). Still, Classics remained the focus of the cours classique and it was not until the opening of the CÉGEP system in 1967 that the emphasis of literary curricula underwent a fundamental and nearly complete shift from the Classics to literature in the vernacular.

Unlike the development of English studies in English-Canada which developed with some independence from the British models of higher education, the collèges classiques nearly always followed the lead of the college system in France. In fact, the system of colleges in Québec "a adopté les mêmes programmes, utilisé les mêmes manuels, et suivi la même évolution" (237). Nevertheless, the cultural, religious, and political élite in Québec who supported the furthering of the cours classique had similar motives to their counterparts in English-Canada in that they too saw a great political and social benefit in the ability of education to create and propagate a "common culture:" "'La valeur de l'enseignement classique'" stated a 1950s document on classical education in Québec, "'provient en grande partie de ce qu'il représente un foyer culturel homogène pour toute la période de formation de l'adolescent'" (63). The founding of the Université Laval was one means of ensuring this homogeneity, for it came to control the administering of the final examinations for the

baccalauréat and the conferring of the degree. This responsibility was also given to the Université de Montréal once it ceased being a satellite campus of Laval in 1920. While the system of collèges classiques was considered to be one of secondary education, it effectively filled the same roles as both secondary and undergraduate education in English Canada. Students completing the cours classique would then be eligible to go to university for a more specialized type of education. When Laval first opened, for instance, there were four faculties: Theology, Law, Medicine, and Arts, the latter of which, aside from its role in administering and awarding the baccalauréat-ès-arts, oversaw the activities of several collèges classiques which chose to affiliate themselves with the university (Moisan, "Histoire des structures institutionelles" 46). A significant development in the state of literary education in Québec occurred in 1920 when Laval instituted the licence-ès-lettres, a two-year program of specialized study for those intending to teach the literature classes in the cours classique. The newly established Université de Montréal further divided the licence-ès-lettres into two streams: the first was oriented towards teaching, while the second, the licence de culture, followed the same standards but allowed the student much greater choice in courses and was ultimately a "'titre d'honneur'" (History of Higher Education 313-15). Increasingly, then, Québec's universities served as a regulator of higher education, a role which, more and more, saw them set the standards by which the cours classique could help to achieve the uniformity or "cultural literacy" the élite saw as necessary for the greater definition and dissemination of a "national" culture.

While a humanistic education was often lauded by Québec's élite for its ability to open the minds of students to aesthetic and moral ideals thus, in the

words of Arnold himself, "turning a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits" (Arnold 38), it was clear to them that the knowledge produced by a classical education also served as a "'patrimoine national.' Rationellement et historiquement, le génie latin et français, au Québec, ne peut être que national et religieux, rempart efficace contre le génie saxon et l'hérésie protestante, à la fois" (Melançon et al. 66). In this respect, then, the value of the cours classique was not so much that it originated in France but that the type of knowledge it (re)produced was distinct from the more contemporary, secular, and scientific education being promoted in English Canada and the United States. One of the strongest proponents of this idea was the Abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain:

> Représentants de la race latine, en face de l'élément anglo-saxon, dont l'expansion excessive, l'influence anormale doivent être balancées, de même qu'en Europe, pour le progrès de la civilisation, notre mission et celles des sociétés de même origine que nous, éparses sur ce continent, est d'y mettre un contrepoids en réunissant nos forces, d'opposer au positivisme anglo-américain, à ses instincts matérialistes, à son égoïsme grossier, les tendances plus élevées, qui sont l'apanage des races latines, une supériorité incontestée dans l'ordre morale et dans la domaine de la pensée. (370)

Unlike the public and higher education systems in English Canada which aimed to assimilate the "other" by not even recognizing it – let alone allowing it a voice – the corresponding systems in French Canada worked from the completely opposite perspective. While the dominant paradigm of English-Canadian education and its promotion of Englishness was one of domination, that of the French-Canadian system was one of resistance and survival. Maintaining a

constant vigilance against the linguistic, political, and cultural threat of the English other, the collèges classiques worked to establish and propagate an understanding of the exact nature of French Canada's own otherness. It was this aim to define further the *difference* of the French-Canadian society that provided the impetus for the inclusion of "littérature canadienne" into the curriculum of the cours classique.

It was not long after the rise of Romantic nationalism in nineteenth-century Europe that Canadian critics began to question if Canada could truly consider itself a great nation without its own national literature. One of the earliest and most influential critics to do so in Québec was the Abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain who, in his influential article "Le Mouvement littéraire canadien" (1860), argued that French-Canada's "avenir national" was directly dependent on its "avenir intellectuel" (367-68). French Canada, he argued, should be excused for not yet having produced a body of undeniably "great" literature as its people had until now been preoccupied with war, rebellions, economic development, and the great physical and intellectual hardships entailed in the establishing of a new society in such a large and relatively inhospitable land. This struggle, argued Casgrain, was now nearly over and it was time for the people to focus on the intellectual progress of the nation, to which the furthering of a "native" literature would make a significant contribution. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, critics and journalists, both anglophone and francophone, continued to debate the relation between literary production and the maturity of a nation and whether the literature of Canada would ever be able to stand alongside those of Britain, France, and, to a lesser extent, the United States. While many of these people, including Casgrain,

advocated more critical and public attention to the literatures of Canada if only to help nurture its growth, few – if any – envisioned higher education as playing any formal part in this process, except as a means of turning out well-educated Canadians who would themselves go on to create literary works. This attitude began to change in 1904 with the appearance of an article by Camille Roy, the first critic and scholar to devote serious effort to creating a place for the literatures of Canada in the higher education system.

In "La Nationalisation de la littérature," Roy argued that if a mature and significant francophone literature was to develop in Canada, it could only do so in conjunction with the literary education provided by the cours classique: "mettrons-nous fin à ce spectacle anormal d'une littérature canadienne qui se développe, c'est-à-dire qui recrute ses ouvriers actifs, surtout à côté et en dehors de nos maisons d'éducation" (200). Contending that the college system "est dans quelques-unes de ses parties trop calqué sur l'enseignement français" (198), Roy proposed that space be created in the curriculum for the study of Canadian literature as well as Canadian history, geography, and politics. It was Roy's conviction that a more "national" education system would fight "l'indifférence parfois dédaigneuse qu'ici l'on professe, pour la littérature canadienne" and, on a broader level, work to reverse "cette tendance que nous avons à soumettre trop nos idées, nos jugements et nos goûts littéraires à des influences extérieures, européennes et surtout françaises" (198). Roy's suggestions did not go unnoticed; in 1906 a congress on secondary education endorsed a proposal that, beginning in 1907, "littérature canadienne" be added to the program leading to the baccalauréat (Robert 41). To facilitate this curricular change, Roy published the Tableau de la littérature canadienne (1907) as a guide for secondary instructors

who might have little knowledge of the literary history of Canada. As the still marginal role of littérature canadienne in the cours classique began to gain some ground – by 1914 one of the subjects of the Baccalauréat exam on rhetoric was devoted to littérature canadienne (Moisan 47) – Roy filled the need for a more extensive textbook with his Manuel d'histoire de la littérature canadienne (1918). Again oriented towards providing instructors with an overview of the history of Canadian literature – both French and English – Roy's manual quickly became the standard text around which the majority of such instruction was based. In fact, the book was so frequently used that it underwent ten revisions between 1918 and 1945 and remained in print until 1962.

As the education of instructors in Québec became a more formalized process with the founding of the École normale supérieure at Laval in 1920 and the opening of the Faculté des arts at the Université de Montréal in 1921, university-level instruction in "littérature canadienne" began to be offered on a regular basis. The teaching stream of the licence-ès-lettres at the Université de Montréal, for instance, "required study of the languages basic to the classical course (French, Latin, Greek, and at least one modern language) and French-Canadian literature and history" (Harris, History of Higher Education 315). The non-teaching stream had fewer restrictions, offering students courses in several optional subjects including Canadian literature (315). The first regular Canadian literature course offered at the Université de Montréal was taught by Émile Chartier, the university's first dean of the Faculté des lettres. Chartier's "Cours d'histoire de la littérature canadienne," which employed the historical focus typical of literary studies at the time, was offered regularly between 1923 and 1945 (Fortin, "L'Entrée en scène de la littérature québécoise" 188). The Université

d'Ottawa began offering similar courses in 1925, two years before the establishment of their own Faculté des lettres in 1927. Taught for the next thirty years by Séraphin Marion, an employee of the National Archives with doctorates in literature from both the Sorbonne and the Université de Montréal, these courses helped to lay the groundwork for the establishment in 1958 of Ottawa's Centre de recherche en littérature canadienne (Moisan 48). By 1950, a time when most anglophone universities were just starting to teach Canadian literature on a semi-regular basis, "littérature canadienne" – which in these cases, with very few exceptions, referred only to literature in French – had been the subject of regular courses at Laval, the Université de Montréal, and the Université d'Ottawa for nearly thirty years.

As with French-Canadian literature in Québec, early calls for a greater focus on English-Canadian literature were rooted in a Romantic nationalist philosophy that tied the greatness of a nation to the maturity of its cultural production. During the nineteenth and early twentieth century, many seemingly sympathetic critics, such as Pelham Edgar, essentially reiterated Casgrain's argument from "Le Mouvement littéraire canadien" that "the main reasons why we are not more advanced in letters are that we have been busy setting our house in order, and that we have not as a people, and scarcely even as individuals been vitally concerned with ideas that make for literature" (Edgar, "A Fresh View" 479). Nevertheless, it was also argued from early on, that there was a significant body of Canadian literature already and it would not be until that work was recognized and, more importantly, that Canadian literature was allowed and encouraged to develop further that Canada could ever truly consider itself a nation rather than a colony. E.H. Dewart's introduction to his 1864 anthology

Selections from Canadian Poets illustrates precisely the Romantic nationalist understanding that links the fate of the nation to the state of its literature:

> A national literature is an essential element in the formation of a national character. It is not merely the record of a country's mental progress: it is the expression of its intellectual life, the bond of national unity, and the guide of national energy. It may be fairly questioned whether the whole range of history presents the whole spectacle of a people firmly united politically, without the subtle but powerful cement of a patriotic literature. (ix)

Such a statement, of course, is predicated on two key concepts. The first posits a mature and complex literature as an indicator of true nationhood. The second, however, echoes the desire of the British élite to promote an "official nationalism" (Anderson 86) that would help to unite the various classes, assimilate the ethnic minorities, and still maintain the country's hegemonic structures. In her 1881 article, "Education and National Sentiment," Kate Seymour MacLean argues that integrating more Canadian content into the primary and secondary education systems would help to promote precisely such an official "national sentiment":

> In a country whose population is so largely made up as ours is, by the influx of yearly immigration from all the countries of the Old World, the strongest necessity exists for some potent influence which shall unite this vast mass of differing, and often conflicting social and civil forces, and render them coherent and orderly elements of the body politic. That there can be no stronger assimilating power than that of a universal and controlling national sentiment. (100)

Although some Canadian content was incorporated into the primary and secondary curriculum, "English Studies" became the primary educational component in this process of cultural reproduction. This was especially true at the university level, where Departments of English were exactly that – departments of *English*. Thus, even though influential figures such as Pelham Edgar, head of the University of Toronto's Department of English from 1910 to 1938, believed and wrote publicly that to survive, let alone flourish, Canada would need "a coherent body of literature stamped with our national spirit" ("Canadian Literature" 100), he and other people in similar positions of power believed that the way for universities to further Canadian literature was not by lowering its standards and teaching Canadian works which they felt to be of a lesser quality than the British classics. Instead, Edgar and others "took it for granted that the role of the university was not necessarily to teach Canadian literature but, rather, by teaching in an inspiring manner the best of English literature, to encourage undergraduates to write" (Fee, "Canadian Literature and English Studies" 25). Edgar, for instance, even wrote articles on Canadian literature and privately did much to encourage its growth, but saw this as an endeavour separate from his teaching. When Thomas Guthrie Marquis writes in 1913 that "the writers of Canada should be studied as English and American writers are studied," it is quite clear that he is arguing for more critical attention to be paid to Canadian writers and not for Canadian content in university-level English courses (495).

As Margery Fee has demonstrated, this early reluctance among Chairs of English to incorporate Canadian literature in the curriculum has often led to a mistaken impression among today's scholars that Canadian literature was not

taught at English-Canadian universities until the 1960s when, in fact, it made its debut in the English curriculum of some institutions by 1907. Until well after mid-century, however, courses on Canadian literature were few and far between and were nearly always oriented towards students not majoring in English. There was, in other words, a distinctly utilitarian quality to these early courses – one which, as we will see later, has not entirely disappeared from English courses on Canadian literature today – in which the pedagogical aim seems to have been more to promote nationalism and the enjoyment of reading than to engage in a serious study of literature for literature's sake. The first Canadian literature course in English seems to have had exactly this type of focus. Taught first as a summer course in 1907 at the MacDonald Institute, an affiliate of the Ontario Agricultural College, Canadian literature began to appear regularly on the Institute's curriculum in 1910 (Fee "Canadian Literature" 22). While this particular course may have initially served a less literary and more utilitarian purpose, Ronald Harris' survey of Canadian English curricula in the 1950s reveals that Canadian literature grew to be a fundamental part of the English program at the Ontario Agricultural College. As Harris explains, English literature was a required subject throughout the four-year program and the curriculum was essentially a typical survey of British literature "beginning with Beowulf and concluding with Stephen Spender" (198). What makes the Ontario Agricultural College curriculum remarkable – even by today's standards – is that Canadian literature acted as bookends for this rather traditional survey rather than as simply an add-on to the "English tradition"; the first term of the first year and the second term of the final year were devoted to the study of Canadian literature with the latter term also including American literature. Rather than the

traditional notion that the study of English literature would act as the groundwork for studies in Canadian and American literature, the Ontario Agricultural College curriculum reversed this hierarchy, causing students to learn about the literature of their own nation before they studied that of the Empire. Sadly, this course structure still remains the sole exception to the rule; the place given to Canadian literature by the Ontario Agricultural College made them an anomaly in the study of Canadian literature, not a pioneer.

The first Canadian literature course at a major Canadian university came hot on the heels of the course at the MacDonald Institute. Taught by Susan Cameron at McGill University in the academic year of 1907-1908, this course was the first of a long series of courses at Canadian universities which covered both American and Canadian literature. Ostensibly examining both literatures within the context of North American literature, such courses in "Amcan," as they were often known, almost always placed a tremendous emphasis on the American literature at the expense of Canadian which was thus portrayed as its poor cousin. Cameron's course, initially entitled "American and Canadian literature, a historical and critical outline of English literature in the New World," was not taught every year, but survived in various forms with various instructors until 1948-49 when Arthur Phelps began teaching a half-course on solely Canadian literature (Fee, "English-Canadian Literary Criticism" 218). It was not until after the First World War, that McGill was joined by other major English-Canadian universities in offering some instruction in Canadian literature. In fact, the boom in Canadian nationalism during this period prompted many significant developments in the study of Canadian literature, much like the effect of Canadian and Québécois nationalism during the 1960s.

One of the most important figures in this regard was John D. Logan, a critic and, for several years, a lecturer at Acadia University. While not a remarkable critic – Margery Fee describes him as being "to English-Canadian literary criticism what James McIntyre, the 'Cheese Poet' is to English-Canadian poetry" (298) – J.D. Logan was an outspoken commentator on the lack of courses on Canadian literature at English Canada's universities. After giving what he describes as the "first formal series of lectures on Canadian literature ever given at any university in the British Empire" in December of 1915, Logan left Canada to serve in the War ("Teaching Canadian Literature" 61). To further his efforts to have Canadian literature added to the Acadia curriculum and recognizing "the importance of having solid research collections in libraries such as Acadia's so that students and faculty could build and develop beyond the mere curriculum of a university English course" (Gwendolyn Davies 125), Logan, upon his return from France in 1918, donated his vast collection of Canadiana to the Acadia library. In 1919, Acadia instituted a half-course in Canadian literature and, to assist in this effort, Acadia's Board of Governors appointed Logan as a "Special Lecturer on Canadian Literature" (Logan, "Teaching Canadian Literature" 61). Logan did not teach the course himself, but gave a series of lectures over the course of the academic year which he describes as being "more for inspiration and method than for a detailed and systematic study of the genres and qualities of Canadian prose" (61). While Logan's lectures that year dealt with both the English and French literatures of Canada, the companion half-course, taught by Vernon B. Rhodenizer, focused on English-Canadian literature. Entitled "English 5A: The History of Canadian Literature," this course was offered every other year, with Logan continuing to deliver his complementary lectures until the mid-

1920s (Gwendolyn Davies 117-18). During these early years, these courses were very popular; in 1931, for instance, Rhodenizer indicated that these courses sometimes had upward of sixty students (Fee, "English-Canadian Literary Criticism" 222). While Rhodenizer did tinker with the course over the years, it remained essentially the same until he retired in 1953 (222).

Logan's influence on the development of early courses on Canadian literature extended past Acadia to Dalhousie University. An alumnus of Dalhousie, Logan initiated a great controversy when he publicly accused Dalhousie and, specifically, Professor Archibald MacMechan of failing to offer courses in Canadian literature and thus "grievously [sinning] against their country and its cultural development (Logan, "Teaching Canadian Literature" 62). After the Dalhousie Senate acknowledged his complaints and assured him that a Canadian literature course was in the works, Logan was angered when Dalhousie announced they would be offering a course on American literature in the 1920-1921 year while still no similar course on Canadian literature existed. In response, Logan published in 1922 , at his own expense, a pamphlet entitled Dalhousie University and Canadian Literature, the subtitle of which reads "Being The History of an Attempt to Have Canadian Literature Included in the Curriculum of Dalhousie University." While this highly public attack undoubtedly embarrassed Dalhousie into offering a Canadian Literature course sooner than they had anticipated, Logan's pamphlet is perhaps more interesting for the argument it makes for the inclusion of Canadian literature in the English curricula of Canadian universities. Logan does not go so far to reject the Arnoldian philosophy at the heart of English studies at Dalhousie and, ultimately, all Canadian universities of the day. In fact, quite contrary to the

beliefs of the vast majority of his fellow scholars and critics, he clearly believes that "Canada [has] a body of prose and verse which, at its best, [is] worthy to be included in the corpus of English literature and in the survey of English literature as conducted by our universities" ("Teaching Canadian Literature" 61). Conversely, Logan also takes a more "Canada First" approach and argues that Canadian universities have an obligation to acknowledge adequately the existence of a Canadian literature and literary history – "whether aesthetically fine or not is not to the point" (Dalhousie University and Canadian Literature 2):

> a written literature and the written appreciations of that literature are a spiritual history of a people, and [. . .] it is the function of a Professor of literature to discover a people's ideals as they are preserved in their own literature, to reveal them to contemporary generations and to hold them up for contemplation by the aesthetic, the moral, and the religious imagination. The literature of a country is the people's literature, and the people have the right to say to their Universities and Professors of Literature that the history and appreciation of their native literature shall be taught to them and their children, and future generations. (2)

While Logan's criticism may be overly impressionistic and inadequate even by the standards of the 1920s, he was perhaps the first in English Canada to systematically address the need for Canadian literature to be included in the English curriculum of Canadian universities. His eagerness to engage the public in this debate, to bring, as Gwendolyn Davies puts it, "the battle for Canadian literature to the streets" (121) demonstrates one of the fundamental aspects of his philosophy, one which appears again in the nationalist rhetoric of the 1960s and

1970s: that the good of Canada and its people were served by the teaching and promotion of Canadian literature.

The surge of Canadian nationalism in the 1920s, of which Logan was obviously a part, led several other universities to bring Canadian literature into their English curriculum. In 1919-1920, Alexander W. Crawford introduced a course on "Contemporary and Canadian Poets" at the University of Manitoba. Two years later, Queen's followed McGill's lead by introducing a course in Canadian and American literature, a course structure which lasted there until 1929-30 when the Department of English instituted a half-course on Canadian literature. 1923-24, of course, saw the introduction of the Dalhousie course requested so vociferously by J.D. Logan. Entitled "Literary Movements in Canada," MacMechan's course was unusual – particularly in comparison to the courses of the late twentieth century – due to the emphasis it gave to French-Canadian literature. Novels in French were included on the syllabus and all students were therefore expected to have at least a reading knowledge of French (Fee 224). The next Canadian university that moved to ensure a continued presence of Canadian literature in its curriculum was the University of Western Ontario who in 1925 began offering a "Pass Course" in Canadian literature every second year (King 8). The "Pass" designation here is significant for it again represents Canadian literature used as the basis for a less-demanding course designed primarily for students not specializing in English. Other Canadian universities to bring in courses at least partly on Canadian literature during the 1920s included Bishop's University, Winnipeg's Wesley College, the University of British Columbia, and Mount Allison University which, like Dalhousie, offered a half-course on the English and French literatures of Canada.

Given its prominence as Canada's largest university and the number of other universities already initiating courses in this area, it may seem surprising that the University of Toronto did not begin to teach Canadian literature until 1934-35. Even then, this Canadian content added to the curriculum was relegated to the very end of a course on American and Canadian literature. While the University of Toronto offered a graduate course on Canadian literature in 1947, it took nearly another twenty years after the institution of the AmCan course before Canadian literature became the subject of an entire undergraduate course in the English department. As Robin S. Harris recounts, English 4G, introduced in 1956, was "a solid course, an excellent introduction to Canadian literature;" the syllabus included seven Canadian novels, a short story anthology, and, two collections of Canadian poetry (English Studies at Toronto 120). English 4G, however, in no way represented a fundamental change in the University of Toronto's attitude toward the place of Canadian literature in the discipline of English Studies. The course was merely "a one-hour-a-week course available as a religious knowledge option to students in honour courses other than those which included English as an honour subject, for example, Physics or Political Science and Economics. It was not available to students whose major interest was in English" (120). In fact, it was only in the mid-1960s that Toronto brought in a number of changes to the Honours and General programs including the addition of an optional fourth year course on Canadian literature.

The University of Toronto's conservatism and apparent unwillingness to envision "English" as anything other than British and, to a somewhat limited extent, American literature was not all that unusual. In fact, we can see it as a microcosm of the real struggle waged from the 1920s to the 1960s by the

literatures of Canada in universities across English-Canada and, to a lesser degree perhaps, in Québec. While the smaller size of universities like Acadia, Western, and the Ontario Agricultural College may have made them more flexible and willing to initiate curricular reform, Canadian literature was still met with similar resistance from the faculty of such English departments. As we have seen from its origins in colonial India, English Studies aspires to be seen as having no political aims. To make Canadian literature a matter for study in the Canadian English curriculum, still solidly rooted in notions of Arnoldian humanism, was perceived by many members and chairs of English departments as an attempt to politicize the curriculum by incorporating texts which would be taught for reasons other than their "natural" aesthetic superiority. In the case of Toronto and a number of other Canadian universities, though, Canadian literature was seen to be acceptable content for the more service-oriented courses not aimed towards students specializing in literature.

The phenomenon of the American-Canadian or "AmCan" course also serves to illustrate the complexities of this debate between maintaining the purity of the discipline and making it more responsive to the cultural production of the nation. The first attempt to teach these literatures together appears to have occurred at McGill in 1907-08 and was followed by the initiation of a similar course at Queen's in 1921-22. In both cases – and in almost every other subsequent one – these courses served as transitional structures which eventually led to the separation of the two national literatures into courses of their own. The University of Western Ontario offers a unique twist to this pattern in that after offering biennial courses in Canadian literature starting in 1925, they changed the format to American and Canadian literature in 1934. As Sarah King has

documented, this structure stayed in place until 1967 when the course was split in two, though not by national literature but by period: the first pass course, English 38, and its honours equivalent English 338 covered "Literature of the United States and Canada to 1885" while English 48 and 448 covered "Literature of the United States and Canada 1885 to present." These were finally replaced by separate courses on American and Canadian literature in 1970 (8-9). While the syllabi for these courses at Western almost always contained at least fifty percent Canadian content, the far more typical structure for courses in "American and Canadian literature" – employed, for instance, at the University of Alberta and the University of Toronto – placed a far heavier emphasis on American literature. The most widely known of the AmCan courses was, naturally, that offered by the University of Toronto. Throughout its history – it was first offered in 1934-35 and continued until the mid-1960s – the course focused so heavily on American content that Canadian works usually made up under ten percent of what was studied. As Robin S. Harris reports, "the course description in the 1963-64 calendar (basically unchanged from that of 1944-45, indeed from that of 1934-35 when the course was introduced in the fourth year)" lists "'selections from'" works by seven major American poets, five canonical American novels, and a choice from three others (120). The Canadian content is merely described as "'Readings in Canadian Poetry (texts to be specified by individual instructors)'" (120). In so far as the English Department's attitude toward Canadian literature goes, the most telling parts of this description are the fact that there are department-prescribed "canonical" American novels, "major" American poets, and "Readings in Canadian Poetry" chosen at the instructor's discretion, implying that not only are there no "major" Canadian writers or works but also

that the Canadian works are of such little importance that the department does not find it necessary to determine which works should be covered.

While the stated rationale for courses in "American and Canadian Literature" was frequently that it was both logical and profitable to study these two North American or "New World" literatures side by side, it is quite clear that in many cases these courses served to appease the demand for Canadian content, but to do so in such a way that would not fundamentally alter the structure of English studies and English departments. Moreover, as these courses often signified as well the first time a course was devoted primarily to American literature, their introduction brought American literature more firmly into the curriculum without the controversy that would inevitably occur – as it did at Dalhousie – if it were brought in before Canadian literature. On the surface, these courses addressed the need for coverage of American literature without appearing to favour it over Canadian literature. The length of time before University of Toronto English students were ever able to take a course entirely on Canadian literature, though, is indicative of the general suspicion there was towards Canadian literature which, although likely present to varying degrees at other English and French departments across the country, certainly seems to have been more marked at University of Toronto. Robertson Davies' satiric portrayal of such an attitude in Leaven of Malice is undoubtedly true to life. Solly Bridgetower, a junior professor of English at Waverly University, is pushed into writing on the work of Charles Heavysege by the Department's Head who tells him that "'Amcan's the coming thing, and particularly the Canadian end of it'" (170). A dismayed and unimpressed Bridgetower asks himself:

> Why do countries have to have literatures? Why does a country like Canada, so late upon the international scene, feel that it must rapidly acquire the trappings of older countries – music of its own, pictures of its own, books of its own – and why does it fuss and stew, and storm the heavens with its outcries when it doesn't have them? (171)

While there were many opinions of this sort to be found in English departments around the country in the 1940s and 1950s, there were nevertheless a number of opposing voices. Perhaps the most progressive of these dissenters was Carlyle King at the University of Saskatchewan, whose ardent demands for courses in Canadian literature would have undoubtedly seemed both curious and annoying to someone sharing the views of Davies' character. When, in 1944, King resorted to lobbying the President of the University to allow him to leave the Department of English – where, apparently, Canadian literature was not welcome – to form his own department of North American literatures, the President rectified matters by *suggesting* to the Department "'that certain classes in American and Canadian literature [be] assigned to Dr. King as part of his teaching work'" (Findlay 427). This move paved the way for King to teach in 1945-46 "'Canadian Literature, Music, and Art' as a night class to 160 students" (427) and then, the following year, what Findlay describes as "the first full-length university course devoted exclusively to the study of Canadian literature" (426). While King's disputes with his department may seem to be simply another example of department politics, they are significant because they perfectly represent the deeply engrained "institutional resistance to innovation" which awaited any Canadianist attempting to convince his or her university of the need

for courses on Canadian literature. What was perhaps the most threatening to the University of Saskatchewan's Department of English, however, was not the incorporation of Canadian literature into the curriculum, for it has always been – and, for the most part, continues to be – simple to marginalize and disarm new and potentially progressive areas of the discipline by adding them on as options to an existing curriculum which will then still remain intact. What made King dangerous – and such a word is hardly too dramatic – to the English Studies at the University of Saskatchewan was his stated desire to form a Department of North American Literatures. Such a department would have disengaged the study of literature from the study of language and culture and allowed the study of North American literatures – which would likely have incorporated French language literature as well – to extract itself from this notion of the great British "tradition" and its aesthetic and moral superiority over its less interesting colonial offspring. Thus, the Department of English's eventual acceptance of King's courses on Canadian literature were, at the surface, a desire to resolve a political dispute among its members but also, on a much deeper level, a move to preserve the Department and the Arnoldian philosophy on which it was based. In other words, so long as North American literature could not be entirely studied on its own terms, it would remain a rather benign force within the English Studies curriculum.

King's progressive vision and successful introduction of a "full-fledged, upper-level, and fully accredited course" (McDougall, "A Place in the Sun" 264) might have been a portent for the rapid development of similar courses at other universities during the 1950s. Ronald Harris' 1952 dissertation, "The Place of English Studies in a University Program of General Education," however, proves

that it was not. Harris spent the winter of 1951-52 visiting thirty universities across the country primarily to look at the balance between composition and literature in the English classes required for general degrees. Out of these thirty universities, Harris found only eight that offered a potential for "some, though not all, undergraduates to have some formal contact by way of a prescribed English course, with the literature of their own country. In all but two cases, the content was fleeting." Interestingly, these two seemingly anomalous cases were the two English language institutions with the longest history of teaching Canadian literature: McGill University and The Ontario Agricultural College. McGill, Harris found, offered a lecture on Canadian literature every second week, "the avowed purpose [. . . of which] was to arouse interest in the literary efforts which Canadians have made and are currently making" (254). These bi-weekly lectures were given to sections of 400 students as a supplement to their twice weekly lectures on English literature. These Canadian lectures were not exclusively focused on Canadian literature. Rather, as Harris reports, they were seen "by the instructor as an introduction to the whole problem of the arts in Canada [. . .], an aspect of Canadian life about which the undergraduate appears to be largely ignorant" (145-46). As noted earlier in this chapter, the Ontario Agricultural College seems to have been the only institution in English Canada during the 1950s to have devoted a significant portion of its curriculum to Canadian literature. While the Ontario Agricultural College English program still maintained a full and very typical survey of British literature over the course of the four years of compulsory English courses, the reading list for the first term of the first year was drawn solely from an anthology of Canadian prose and poetry and the final term of the fourth year brought students back to that anthology at

the same time as they were introduced to American literature; "Canadian literature thus greeted the O.A.C. student as he entered the College and waved a figurative goodbye to him as he took his leave" (254).

In nearly all the other cases found by Harris, Canadian literature was most likely to appear in service-courses oriented toward students not pursuing an arts degree. Whether in courses at Queen's or Alberta where students of engineering and agriculture respectively were required to read a Canadian novel, courses at the University of British Columbia in which second-year professional students "read single issues of two Canadian periodicals" (253), or at Dalhousie where the professional students studied a few works of Canadian fiction and non-fiction, it is clear that the designers of these courses and the curriculum understood Canadian literature to be an adequate tool for instruction in critical reading and in composition in such cases where the study of *Literature* was not a primary goal. Even in the cases of the McGill lectures and, though perhaps to a lesser degree, the Ontario Agricultural College program, the place given to Canadian literature makes it clear that the criteria for its inclusion in the curriculum were different than those applied to British literature. Specifically, Canadian literature appears to have been seen to be more useful for the fostering of citizenship and knowledge about Canada than it was for increasing a student's understanding of literary works. The tension between nationalism and the humanistic understanding of the role of English studies characterized the introduction and development of English courses in Canadian literature. As we will learn in later chapters, this very conflict still plays a role in such courses today and does so in a way that it never has in Canadian courses on British literature.

Evidently, at least from what Harris was able to determine, King's course – much like that taught by Rhodenizer and Logan at Acadia in the 1920s – was revolutionary for its time but, nevertheless, did not have an immediate impact on the course offerings at other English universities in Canada. Moreover, while King's supposed goal of teaching in a Department of North American literatures positioned the literatures of Canada, at least in that institutional context, as a threat to English Studies, the vast majority of the proponents of Canadian literary studies to follow him had very meagre and, sadly, more realistic demands. Desmond Pacey, for instance, is one of the best known English-Canadian critics and professors to have lobbied extensively for the creation of courses in Canadian literature. In a number of articles over the course of his career, though, he also disavowed any will to have Canadian literature gain a significant enough place in the curriculum to be seen as equally worthy of attention as British literature. In his frequently anthologized article "Literary Criticism in Canada" (1950), Pacey contends that while Canadian literature "should have a place – a small place" in the English curriculum, it should never challenge the centrality of the English canon: "That the study of Canadian literature should not supplant the study of English literature in our universities is eminently reasonable; but it should supplement it" (49).[3]

While such a rhetorical strategy was perhaps prudent at a time when many Chairs of English had a hard time believing that Canadian literature should be

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[3] Pacey says much the same thing in his seminal 1973 article "The Study of Canadian Literature." Disputing notions held by some of his colleagues that Canadian literature is a "'soft' option," Pacey writes, "I should never myself counsel a student to take a course wholly devoted to Canadian literature unless he already had a good grounding in Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, Pope, and Wordsworth" (70).

given a place in the English curriculum, it was also a self-fulfilling prophecy. By articulating a vision of Canadian literature which saw it as an offshoot of the British tradition – Pacey's discussions of "Canadian literature" almost always conveniently omit the consideration of French-language literature written in Canada – and thus being worthy of only being a curricular add-on, scholars like Pacey helped to ensure Canadian literature would be incorporated into the curriculum in such a way that it would never threaten the primary focus on British literature. Pacey's vision – undoubtedly a radical one for 1950 – was that Canadian literature should ideally make up "possibly one term out of the usual eight [. . .] in the curriculum of those students who are specializing in English" (49). Given that today, nearly fifty years later, the number of Canadian literature courses barely meets Pacey's optimum ratio of one out of eight, it appears that the reasonable demands of Pacey and his contemporaries may have actually hindered Canadian literature's ability to grow beyond its position as a "supplement" to the study of British literature.

Certainly, during the 1950s, some professors in the literature departments of Québec's French universities also considered French-Canadian litèrature to be a "soft option," an adolescent and aesthetically inferior offshoot of the great French tradition. Yet, perhaps because of a self-awareness among academics as to the role education would need to play in protecting and invigorating the French language and culture in Québec, courses in littérature canadienne began to expand and to grow beyond the more general survey courses that had been offered regularly since the early 1920s. In 1955, for instance, Laval offered their first course – and perhaps the first ever course – devoted to a single Canadian text: Phillippe Aubert de Gaspé's Les Anciens Canadiens (Fortin, "Entrée" 196).

An entire course on Maria Chapdelaine followed in 1960 at the Université de Montréal (197). More revolutionary, though, was Léopold LeBlanc's 1959 Université de Montréal course on André Langevin, a writer in his early thirties whose works had never been taught before. These courses opened the door for a series of courses in the 1960s which dealt with either a single work or a single author (198). The founding in 1958 of the University of Ottawa's Centre de recherche en littérature canadienne by four professors from its French department was also a landmark event in that it gave both a credibility and a distinct institutional presence to the study of French-Canadian literature. It is essential to note, however, that while Québec's universities had come to devote more attention to the literature of its own people, the most frequent form of higher education in Québec, the baccalauréat, still provided a very traditional and conservative classical education, in which the "sujets canadiens" could only play a minor role. In fact, all of modern literature was still very much neglected in the collèges classiques in comparison to the attention devoted to French literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As Clément Moisan points out, for instance, it was not until the 1950s, that Baudelaire was included in the curriculum and even Voltaire, "comme tout les auteurs à l'Index, est étudié dans des morceaux choisis ou des textes expurgés" (Moisan 52). While, by the 1960s, littérature canadienne still did not have a dominant role in the literary subjects of the cours classique, that it had any presence at all was in fact a major accomplishment, due in great part to the efforts and influence of Camille Roy.

Because the Université Laval and the Université de Montréal had allowed littérature canadienne a permanent, albeit minor, presence in the university curriculum since the 1920s and, during the 1950s, had introduced more

specialized courses on the subject, these universities – unlike their English counterparts in the other provinces – were fairly well prepared to respond to the surge in Canadian and Québécois nationalism during the 1960s and early 1970s and the resulting interest in the literatures of Canada. At these two universities in particular, the overall zeitgeist of the Quiet Revolution and the specific educational reforms brought in by the Lesage government following the Parent report helped bring about a rapid expansion in the study and teaching of what was increasingly referred to as littérature québécoise. In 1963, for instance, Laval's Faculté des Lettres created separate departments of études françaises and études canadiennes, the latter of which was "consacrée entièrement au domaine littéraire, au folklore, et à l'ethnologie" (50). Thanks to the growing role of littérature canadienne in the cours classique, the university had already instituted specialised teaching degrees or *licences* , in which students could specialize in "civilisation canadienne." In 1963, students working for the licence gained the further option to obtain one of the four required certificates in the field of "littérature canadienne-française" (51). While changes at Laval in 1971 reunited the two departments (and integrated several others) in a single "Département de littératures" – the title of which, it is important to note, removes the linguistic and cultural determinants inherent in the nomenclature of all departments of English or Études françaises – the study of Québécois literature had eight years to develop in its own department and therefore undoubtedly grew in ways it could not have in the same department as French literature. Moreover, becoming one of the literatures around which a new department of several literatures was constructed perhaps allowed it a status of being worthy of study on its own in a way that can never occur when a department is comprised

of one major national literature and one which inevitably seems to be minor in comparison.

The Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement au Québec, formed in 1961, was perhaps the single most important event of the 1960s to affect the place of Québécois literature in the university and college curriculum. Released in 1964, the Commission's findings, more commonly referred to as the Parent Report, called for the government to take over control of the public education system, replace the system of collèges classiques with a more modern college system, and to found several new public universities. Significantly, in its recommendations on curriculum, it also argued for a greater role to be accorded to littérature canadienne, even if it meant applying different standards to it than were applied to the literature of France: "L'enseignement de cette littérature pourrait s'orienter en partie vers une étude des aspects sociologiques que comportent les oeuvres littéraires et se rattacher, de cette façon, à une sorte d'anthropologie culturelle ou de psychologie nationale" (t. III, 613: 41). As Melançon et al. point out, the members of the commission were obviously "trop imprégnés de la conception esthétique de la littérature pour proposer une simple intégration des oeuvres québécoises à l'enseignement littéraire" (398). Nevertheless, it is clear that the Commission considered the study of its own people's literature to play a vital role in the creation of a provincial educational system that would not only increase the quality of education and thus the province's competitiveness, but also would foster the further growth of the French language and culture in Québec.

One of the key places the teaching of littérature canadienne would occur would be at a new level of post-secondary education which would provide both

professional and vocational training as well as a more general form of pre-university education. Created in 1967 with the passing of Bill 21, the Collèges d'enseignement général et professionel, or CÉGEPs as they are more commonly known, provided students with a two-year course of general studies which then allows them to enter university directly into their area of specialization. The required CÉGEP courses in French, much like the required first-year English courses at universities outside of Québec, mark the last time students bound for university are ever required to take courses in language and literature. Therefore, these courses became one of the primary sites where the inclusion of works by Québécois writers was deemed essential by critics, scholars, teachers, and administrators. In their La Littérature au CÉGEP (1968-78), a profoundly detailed study of the role played by literature at this level of education and major achievement in the sociology of literary studies in Canada, Joseph Melançon and his colleagues reveal that between 1968 and 1978 Québécois literature became increasingly important in the curriculum, gaining a status and proportion nearly equal to that of French literature (Dumont 382). By studying course outlines from a number of CÉGEPs during this period, they were able to determine that three of the ten authors most frequently studied were from Québec (Roy 207). Québécois texts were also among the most frequently used; only Anouilh's Antigone (twenty-two occurrences) appeared on course lists more often than Hébert's Kamouraska (twelve occurrences) and Borduas' Refus Global (Camus' Noces also tied for second place). Although this shift to Québécois texts, which were mostly from the twentieth century, was partly due to a deliberate shift away from the Grand Siècle so favoured in the cours classique to the contemporary and seemingly more relevant, its relation to the *projet national* of

educational reform and the formation of a "national" identity cannot be underestimated. Mélançon learned through their interviews and surveys of teachers of literature at the CÉGEP level that this growth in the study of Québécois literature was tied to "l'adoption d'un point de vue socio-historique, d'une part, et à la volonté de susciter un sentiment d'identification, d'autre part. Cette identification a semblé s'être faite par le biais du nationalisme" (Dumont 383). Interestingly, by the late 1970s, most of these same instructors reported finding less of a need to address the relation between Québec's literature and its society and that they had thus shifted their pedagogical focus to the literary aspects of these same texts (383-84).

The growing cultural and political desire of Québec society during the 1960s to define and further its own distinct identity which was neither French, nor simply "Canadian" – a term which, more and more, had been appropriated by English-Canadians as being wholly representative of themselves – the study of littérature canadienne and eventually *littérature québécoise* at the university level passed "d'un enseignement destiné à la formation d'enseignants du secondaire, à une recherche méthodologique et théorique dont le but avoué était d'accréditer le caractère scientifique de la littérature québécoise" (Moisan 56). As Nicole Fortin has shown, this period saw more courses introduced that went beyond the traditional structure of the historical survey. While courses dealing with particular authors, movements, or texts certainly emerged during the 1950s, these new courses began to address directly the methodologies to be applied in such studies. In Fortin's words, courses with titles such as "Problèmes de littérature canadienne (Université de Montréal – 1960)," "Éditions critiques d'auteurs canadiens – Méthodologie (Université Laval – 1964)", and "Sociologie

de la littérature canadienne" (Université d'Ottawa – 1965)" were significant because they testified to "l'émergence de démarches où la littérature apparaît moins sous la forme d'un objet de *connaissance* que sous celle d'un objet de *compréhension*" ("Entrée" 195). This growing belief that Québécois texts were as worthy of study as any other literary texts was, as Fortin rightly points out, due in great part to a changing conception of literature which, through new perspectives such as those offered by structuralist and post-structuralist theory, brought into question aesthetic value as the primary focus of literary study. Emblematic of such an understanding of Québécois literature and of the literary text in general is the fact that when the Université de Québec à Montréal opened in 1969, it had no department of French, only a Département d'études littéraires which focused on literary theories or problems and paid less attention on the text's language or nation of origin.

While this departmental structure was undoubtedly a progressive move and remains, even today, a unique experiment in Canada, it also expressed a remarkable confidence – especially for a public institution – as to the ability of Québécois literature to exist on an equal basis with all other literatures studied in the same department. It should not be overlooked, however, that such a confidence allows things to come full circle for the study of the literature of Québec and invokes the very same Romantic nationalist desires that motivated Casgrain and Roy. While the understanding of the literary text certainly changed during this time and the methodology applied to the study of Québécois literature had definitely become more complex, there is no question that there was also a nationalist benefit to disavowing the place of nationalism in research and teaching by scholars of Québécois literature. To do so was to imply that

nationalism no longer was an issue because Québécois literature had finally come of age and was mature enough to be considered a true national literature in its own right. As scholars of Québécois literature smartly discovered, believing one's literature to have such a status can be a self-fulfilling prophecy, though only in a social or national context – what one thinks of one's own literature has a limited effect on its international standing. As we will discuss more in the next chapter, just like the social reproductive aspects of the study of French and British literature, the seeming separation of the study of Québécois literature from the *projet national* actually makes it an even more effective contributor to the development of a national identity.

A comparison between courses in littérature canadienne in French universities in Québec during the 1960s and courses on Canadian literature at English-Canadian universities during the same period make it quite apparent that the latter would take much longer to move away from an overtly nationalist approach. Indeed, while the early to mid-sixties saw universities like Laval and the Université de Montréal begin to offer more specialized courses on topics like literary history and the sociology of literature, English-Canadian universities were content with offering usually just single sections of optional courses that surveyed the entire history of Canadian literature, or both Canadian and American literature together. By the late 1960s, however, a major boom in the study of Canadian literature was well underway at most Canadian universities. In his article "A Place in the Sun," Robert L. McDougall recalls the situation at Carleton during those years,

> In 1960, [the Department of English] offered one undergraduate and one postgraduate course in Canadian literature to only a handful of students.

> By the end of the decade it offered four undergraduate and sometimes as many as four postgraduate courses in Canadian literature, with a combined enrollment of more than 450 students. (274)

Although it was not until 1968-69, for instance, that the University of Toronto finally offered an optional fourth-year course on Canadian literature for students in their "English Language and Literature" program, by the early 1970s they too had greatly expanded their offerings in Canadian literature. 1971-72 saw the University of Toronto add not only a 100 level introductory course in Canadian literature but also a number of new 300 and 400 level courses, including "'Canadian Poetry,' 'Canadian Fiction,' and 'Contemporary Canadian Criticism'" (Harris, English Studies at Toronto 158). In 1973, Desmond Pacey informally surveyed thirty-eight Canadian Departments of English and determined that "there are now at least 90 undergraduate courses in Canadian literature being offered, with a total enrollment of over 6000 students" ("The Study of Canadian Literature" 67). This boom extended to the graduate level as well. Not only were there twenty-two universities that year offering a total of thirty graduate courses in the field, but there were also "162 graduate theses in Canadian literature [. . .] being written, 103 at the Master's level and 59 at the doctoral level" (68). Described to me by Clara Thomas as "the Golden Age of Canadian Literature," this expansion of courses during the late 1960s and early 1970s was greatly nourished by the post-Expo '67 wave of Canadian nationalism. Canadian literature was getting international attention, there was a tremendous increase in scholarly and commercial publishing on Canadian subjects, and more and more students were eager to take courses that related to the people and history of

Canada. The universities of English Canada, however, encountered a number of problems in trying to meet this demand.

One of the major problems caused by such a rapid growth of the demand for courses in Canadian literature was the initial lack of professors interested, let alone qualified, to teach them. Most tenured professors had their own areas of specialization and had established courses they were still required to teach. The *addition* to the curriculum of courses in Canadian literature, therefore, often meant that these courses were given to new or recently-hired faculty, whether they were Canadianists or, most often, not. Much like Bridgetower's encounter with the Department Head in Leaven of Malice, in fact, these young faculty were often asked to "retool" and to start focusing on Canadian literature rather than the areas of expertise they had acquired during their years of graduate study. Some of these scholars actually happened to be Canadians who, though interested in Canadian literature early on in their studies, had been unable to pursue these interests due to a great lack in courses in this area before the boom of the late 1960s. Many others, however, were not even Canadian and had read very little if any Canadian literature before being assigned to teach courses in the field.[4] This is not to suggest that such scholars were incapable of teaching Canadian literature or that they should not have been permitted to shift their research and teaching interests to this field – in fact, many of today's senior Canadianists were part of this very group of scholars. What did occur at the very

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4 As Mathews and Steele pointed out in their highly public campaign for the Canadianization of Canadian universities, the mid to late-1960s saw a great number of Americans hired to fill tenure-track positions. In their 1969 book The Struggle for Canadian Universities, they estimate that "between 1963 and 1965 roughly 58% of new appointments went to non-Canadians; between 1965 and 1967, this figure appears to have risen to 72%; in 1968, it may have been as high as 86%" (1).

beginning of their careers, however, is that these professors were learning both about Canadian literature and Canada at the same time as they were teaching these early courses. This situation may have then kept such courses tied to the notion of using literature to better understanding Canada and Canadian identity longer than it would have had the instructors been trained Canadianists who might be more likely to focus on the literary aspects of the texts. In other words, unlike in Québec where the better established courses in littérature canadienne helped to provide the infrastructure necessary for a literature to be studied in more diverse and sophisticated ways, the initial lack of such skills and experience among this new breed of Canadian literature professors undoubtedly pushed the study of Canadian literature in directions it otherwise might not have followed. As Robin S. Harris points out, the lack of training in this area was officially noted as a problem by the University of Toronto's Department of English in a report they submitted to the Ontario Council of Graduate Studies' Advisory Committee on Academic Planning:

> 'our strength is the remarkable number of scholars accomplished in other fields who have also chosen to contribute to the study of Canadian literature. Our breadth of perspective and lack of parochialism is notable. Our weakness is the absence of scholars who have devoted themselves without distraction to research and criticism in this area.' (English Studies at Toronto 184)

An even more significant obstacle was the way in which Canadian literature was incorporated into the curriculum. As Desmond Pacey lamented in 1973, "the last two decades have seen a great upsurge in the interest in Canadian literature,

but so far this interest has not drawn forth anything like an appropriate scholarly response" ("The Study of Canadian Literature" 72). For one thing, almost every department responded to the need for courses in this area primarily by adding courses which surveyed the entire history of Canadian literature. Occasionally, departments would divide this history into more than one survey course, with each addressing more manageable periods of time. When there was an increase in the number of students wanting to study Canadian literature courses, universities often simply added more sections of these survey courses rather than attempting to add more specialized courses in the field. This lack of scope and variety at the undergraduate level also affected the graduate offerings. While, as Pacey discovered, there were in fact around thirty graduate-level Canadian literature courses in 1973, the majority were "still survey courses which would seem to belong more properly to the undergraduate curriculum" (71). The conflicting evidence at that time of such an expansion in the numbers of Canadian literature courses and such a lack of both specialized courses and the scholarship necessary for the field to advance as it might leads Pacey to warn that " we should be far from complacent. We may have won a battle, but have we really won the war?" (69). Pacey's ultimate reticence to challenge truly "the traditional study of English literature" again demonstrates how such an attitude hindered the further growth of courses in Canadian literature. Arguing that Canadian literature is most effectively taught as a contemporary literature, he writes:

> The real issue is not whether one should study Chaucer or Carman – Chaucer is a world figure and will always be relevant, Carman was a minor poet and is mainly of historical interest – but whether one should study,

> say, John Updike or Leonard Cohen, Stephen Spender or Dorothy Livesay, John Braine or Margaret Laurence, Margaret Drabble or Margaret Atwood. (71)

Evident here is Pacey's unwillingness to envision anything other than aesthetic "excellence" as the chief criteria for a literary work to be studied; the only reason he seems to feel that contemporary Canadian literature is worth studying is because it can now be more justifiably considered to be among "the best that is thought and said" during this period. What he fails to recognize however is that by essentially restricting courses in the literatures of Canada to competing with other courses in contemporary literature and not, for instance, other courses on nineteenth century literature, he marginalizes it to what is, even today, still a relatively minor part of the English curriculum. It was likely a combination of this focus on contemporary Canadian literary works and the disdainful attitude some department members still held towards the literatures of Canada that led to such a relatively few number of courses being offered in the field. This was made worse, no doubt, by the tendency of departments to believe that new courses in the literatures of Canada should in no way affect the quantity of other courses being offered in British and American literature. By envisioning Canadian literature as a supplement to the existing curriculum rather than as an impetus to reevaluate the entire structure of English programs, Department Heads and, indeed, Canadianists who supported such policies ensured that Canadian literature could never get much beyond the eight percent of total offerings so harshly criticized by the Symons report in 1975.

During the 1980s and 1990s, scholars and students in both English and French Canada came to understand the literatures of Canada as being more complex

than previously portrayed. While the literatures of this country have always been multicultural and yielded works written by many segments of society, the sheer number of literary works being produced in Canada brought these issues to the fore in a way that had never previously occurred. Debates began over how representative the canon of Canadian literature should be; arguments were made for a greater presence of works by feminist writers, First Nations writers, immigrant writers, gay and lesbian writers, ethnic minority writers, and – though to a far lesser degree, especially in English Canada – linguistic minority writers. Despite this growth of the literatures of Canada and the increasing demands to widen the Canadian canon, the chief mode of transmission of the canon, the curriculum, did not change significantly. As Margery Fee points out in her 1993 article "Canadian Literature and English Studies in the Canadian University," Canadian literature courses still only comprise between five and ten percent of total English course offerings at Canadian universities. Cameron's book Taking Stock: Canadian Studies in the Nineties reports a somewhat higher figure of 12% of courses with significant Canadian content (52), but these numbers are still too low, obviously, to respond to the complexity of the literatures of Canada. Certainly, new courses have been offered over the last fifteen to twenty years, but these have often been upper level courses which vary from year to year in topic. Instead, at least in English Canada, the *de facto* site of contention for these issues of representation has become the lowly and outmoded Canadian literature survey course which, naturally, can only expand to include marginalized groups, genres, and literary styles by neglecting others.

In her groundbreaking article "L'Entrée en scène de la littérature québécoise," Nicole Fortin notes that during the 1970s and 1980s courses on Québécois

literature at Québec's French universities began to incorporate forms of writing not previously considered to be "literary" works including songs, monologues, and political discourse. Such an infusion of new material to cover, she proposes, can either result in a *redefinition* or a *saturation* of the literary field (206). A redefinition, she argues,

> signifierait sans doute le changement du statut du littéraire: dégagée de ses genres traditionnels qui ont, depuis les années 1950, servis de base à la structuration des cours, la littérature autorise de plus en plus des formes nouvelles. [. . .] Cette modification implique à la fois la redéfinition du littéraire et la redéfinition des objectifs et des structures de son enseignement. (206)

A saturation, on the other hand, indicates "que l'ensemble a atteint un état de stagnation, marqué par l'incapacité, du discours didactique, d'introduire dans le corpus de nouvelles formes 'purement' littéraires" (206). Fortin argues that her analysis of course descriptions and reading lists from the 1980s points much more to a saturation of the literary field than a redefinition of it. Much like in English survey courses in Canadian literature where "new" or less canonical writers rarely achieve a significant presence, Fortin found that during this period "plus de 75% des nouveaux auteurs apparaissent dans des lieux particularisés, où ils ne côtoieront pas les auteurs 'anciens' déjà inscrits dans l'enseignement" (206).

As we will see in later chapters, such a "marginalisation de la nouveauté" (207) is perhaps even more prevalent in English department course offerings in Canadian literature in that there is very often a lack of specialized courses into which such new or previously neglected works can be inserted. Ironically, in the

case of both courses on Québécois literature and English courses on the literatures of Canada, this resistance to a redefinition of the literary field echoes the original difficulties faced by the literatures of Canada when scholars like Roy and Logan lobbied for their incorporation into the university curriculum. Just as Department Heads and faculty often opposed the founding of courses on the literatures of Canada on the grounds that, as Henry Kreisel said at the University of Alberta in 1950, the body of work "wasn't yet quite good enough" (Kreisel 38) to be considered at par with British or American literature, so too do some Canadianists of today voice concern over texts being added to the curriculum for primarily non-literary reasons. What this demonstrates is that the admission of the literatures of Canada into the curriculum did not result in a fundamental redefinition of the purpose of literary studies in Canada. In fact, instead of coming to understand literature in a way that would remove aesthetic quality as the fundamental criteria for the study of the text, professors of English-Canadian literature and, to a seemingly lesser degree, professors of littérature québécoise, seem to have aspired all along to consider the literatures of Canada – and particularly those of the last forty years – from that very same perspective. Especially at English-Canadian universities, where, with the notable exception of the University of Alberta's Comparative Literature program and Research Institute in Comparative Literature, the study of the Canadian literary institution can still seem to be a somewhat questionable pursuit, the Romantic nationalist dreams of many early scholars appear to have come true: English-Canadian literature seems to have become a literature worthy of study on its own literary merits.

How is it, though, that English-Canadian literature has still not achieved a greater place in the English curriculum and a status similar to that held today by Québécois literature at the French-language universities in Québec? Is it because the Anglophone scholars and students who lobbied in the past for courses in "Canadian Literature" were too easily satisfied with a minor portion of the total number of course offerings or were hesitant to challenge the hegemony any more than they already had? Or, have departments of English deliberately worked to keep Canadian literature in its place of secondary or even tertiary importance behind the position accorded to British and American literature? It might be tempting to ascribe the reasons for this, as many of my interview subjects did, to the idiosyncracies of certain departments and the influence of particular department chairs and instructors. As the insightful Professor Max Roy cautioned me about my research, however, "vous allez voir que c'est très diversifié, c'est très different d'une université à l'autre et la différence masque souvent les régularités. Il ne faut pas se laisser leurrer par ses différences-là" (Oct. 22, 1997). Although few English language universities in Canada seem to have taken note of other universities' course offerings when designing and redesigning their curricula, the fact that Canadian literature has a remarkably similar position at nearly every one of these universities implies a much more systematic cause for this phenomenon, one which lies at the heart of the Canadian literary institution. The only way one can begin to understand these "régularités" is by first, as we have done in this chapter, examining the history of the introduction and development of courses on the literatures of Canada and then, as we will undertake in chapter two, consider the theoretical models that might explicate their occurrence.

Chapter Two

"A Prisoner of its own Amnesia": the Role of the University in the Canadian Literary Institution

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, the Arnoldian tenet of aesthetic quality as the sole criterion for study was at the centre of most early refusals to give English-Canadian literature even the smallest place in the English curriculum of Canadian universities. While the growing quality of contemporary English-Canadian literature eventually made it more and more difficult for scholars and critics to perceive it as being of secondary importance to the British and American literature of the same period, its eventual inclusion in the curriculum still did not bring about the same structural changes that gradually occurred in literature departments in Québec where, in some cases, the number of courses in Québécois literature during the 1970s and 1980s rivalled and even outnumbered those in French literature. This did not occur strictly because Québécois literature came to be seen as being equal in literariness or aesthetic quality to the French tradition but was due, rather, to a growing belief that it was worthy of study for other equally important reasons and, more importantly, on its own cultural terms. In English Canada, however, there has never been a similar challenge to the purpose of literary studies in a system where, despite an influx of new methodologies and literary theories over the last thirty years, literary excellence and the supremacy of the "text" are still the foundation upon which "English" considers itself to be built. This helps to justify

the still minor presence – at least in terms of the overall number of courses – of English-Canadian literature in the university English curriculum in that it is only contemporary Canadian texts that are usually considered of sufficient quality to be given a similar weight to the other more established national literatures of the United States and England.

Tied to this fairly recent belief that English-Canadian literature is now part of the English curriculum because it deserves to be so for strictly literary reasons, is an apparently Arnoldian self-image held by many of today's English-Canadian critics and teachers that their role should simply be to indicate, elucidate, and ultimately consecrate "the best that is known and thought" in (English) Canada (Arnold 38). As Frank Davey points out so well in Canadian Literary Power, to put stock in the objectivity and neutrality of the professor as scholar, critic, and teacher is to disavow the "power" inherent in such a position, a power which continuously ripples through all levels of the literary institution. In other words, as critics such as Bourdieu and Dubois have illustrated so effectively in works like the former's "Le Marché des biens symboliques" (1971) and Homo Academicus (1984), and the latter's L'Institution de la littérature (1978), there is never an autonomous position in any field, particularly a field of restricted production such as that of Literature. In fact, whatever pretensions of scientific objectivity are held by the academy, it is clear that the role of professor is one of the least autonomous in the field. Not only is it directly dependent on the production and distribution of texts, its consecration of texts, in one way or another, affects all of the other agents in the field. Moreover, "Literature" is not something to which scholars simply respond to at arm's length; it is, rather, a notion constructed by the university itself which, through the consecrational

forces of teaching and criticism, transforms chosen texts from mere books into works of Literature. In the words of Roland Barthes, "La littérature, c'est ce qui s'enseigne" ("Réflexions" 170).

While Bourdieu and Dubois have made the greatest contributions to our understanding of the university's fundamental place in the literary institution, there could nevertheless be a danger of applying their theoretical models too readily to the study of the literary institution in Canada.[5] The relevant work of both these critics deals solely with the very specific context of the French literary field and, particularly, its highly regimented education system. Canada, with what appear to be two nearly separate literary institutions, each unique in very different ways from the other, would seem to pose a number of serious challenges to any attempt to fully articulate the complex interactions of the circular processes of literary production, distribution, consumption, and consecration. By first working through the theories of Bourdieu and Dubois as to the literary institution and then addressing the specificity of the Canadian context, I will demonstrate that their work is, in fact, highly pertinent to a better understanding of the Canadian literary institution. More importantly, it becomes clear upon closer examination that the interrelation of the study of the literatures of Canada and the rest of the Canadian literary institution may in fact offer some of the best examples of the processes of cultural production and reproduction described by Bourdieu and Dubois. This attempt to map the complexities of the Canadian literary field, then, will provide a theoretical framework for the rest of

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[5] There are, of course, other models which are very applicable to a study of the literary institution in Canada, most notably Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory or some of the work that has

the thesis and, ultimately, will demonstrate how the symbiotic relationship between the Canadian university and the rest of the literary institution ultimately (pre)determines how we conceive of our national literatures rather than vice-versa.

1. Bourdieu, Dubois, and Theories of the Literary Institution

It is only in the last thirty years or so that critics such as Bourdieu and Dubois have begun to study the "literary institution" and the effect that it has not only on cultural production, but also on social and cultural reproduction. Part of the reason that the role of the literary institution has been neglected until relatively recently is the great difficulty inherent in any attempt to define exactly what the literary institution is and how it works. The complexity of the literary institution, as Dubois' L'institution de la littérature clearly illustrates, lies in the fact that the institution is not a single, coherent, and identifiable entity but, rather, is made up of all the different forces and agents that contribute in various ways to the production, distribution, consumption, and consecration of literature. It is in this way that the literary institution as a whole, while being of tremendous influence, can often be next to invisible: "le dispositif d'institution peut demeurer très peu visible dans la mesure où il n'exerce ses contraintes que de façon implicite sur les pratiques symboliques" (Dubois 26). One of the most important reasons that the study of the literary institution is still a relatively small and unexplored field – particularly in departments of English[6] – is the

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been done on the literary institutions of other countries such as Germany. As this thesis is not solely a study of the Canadian literary institution, I have opted not to discuss them here.

[6] The most notable exception to this trend is the series of conferences and their proceedings sponsored by the University of Alberta's Research Institute for Comparative Literature under the title "Towards a History of the Literary Institution in Canada."

continuing predilection to seeing the text as the focus of literary studies, a paradigm introduced to university literature departments by the highly influential ideas of New Criticism. Additionally, while theoretical approaches such as post-structuralism, feminism, and post-colonialism reveal the great extent to which the production and reception of the text are influenced by extra-authorial forces, the general public and even many of the agents that make up the literary institution itself continue to envision the author as a solitary and autonomous genius figure whose work is entirely a product of his or her creative mind. Thus, "Literature" is frequently seen as a completely independent product against which the other elements of the literary institution (publishers, readers, critics, booksellers, universities, etc.) react and define themselves. The work of Bourdieu and Dubois, however, explains that this is clearly not the case; for Dubois, the most important aspect of the sociology of literature is its demonstration that there is no such thing as one timeless and universal Literature but, rather, that literature is comprised of a number of "pratiques spéciales, singulières, opérant à la fois sur le langage et l'imaginaire et dont l'unité ne se réalise qu'à certains niveaux de fonctionnement et d'insertion dans la structure sociale" (11).

In L'institution de la littérature, Dubois discusses how Jean-Paul Sartre, Roland Barthes, and Pierre Bourdieu each pinpoint literature's gaining of independence from religious and class ideologies during the nineteenth century as being the formative moment in the development of the literary institution as we know it today. In the nineteenth century, Sartre explains, "la littérature vient de se dégager de l'idéologie religieuse et refuse de servir l'idéologie bourgeoise. Elle se pose donc comme indépendante de toute espèce d'idéologie" (Sartre 164).

During this period, then, literature comes to be seen as something with no ideological function, something which is to be considered as "pure" art. In Le Degré zéro de l'écriture, Barthes too identifies the same time period as the moment when literature gains its autonomy. He explains that, as modern capitalism emerges in France with the beginning of the Second Empire and as the strict class divisions in French society fall apart for good (Dubois 25), "l'écriture" becomes the main focus of literature rather than the expression of a "unité idéologique de la bourgeoisie": "l'écriture classique a donc éclaté et la Littérature entière, de Flaubert à nos jours, est devenue une problématique du langage" (Degré zéro 9). At this same moment, Barthes suggests, "la Littérature (le mot est né peu de temps avant) est consacrée définitivement comme un objet" (9-10). Looking at the history of English Studies, Tony Davies points to precisely the same time period for the genesis of "Literature" in England. During the mid-nineteenth century, at around the time Mathew Arnold begins to argue for the study and promotion of only "the best that is known and thought," the use of the term "literature" – initially by critics and then later by all levels of the literary institution – moves away from denoting the totality of written works to signalling a highly specific body of work deemed to be of aesthetic, and thus cultural, value. Such a use of the term "Literature," then, by valuing a very specific set of criteria designated by those agents holding the power of consecration while at the same time deeming these values to be of universal importance, rapidly gained an ideological weight at the same time as it claimed to be above ideology.

As Bourdieu aims for his discussion of "The Market of Symbolic Goods" to apply to all forms of cultural production, he devotes little attention to specific

historical events (such as the rise of Second Empire) that contribute to the autonomization of literature. What he does, rather, is point to several key conditions which must be present for any kind of "intellectual or cultural production" to become autonomous (Bourdieu, "Market" 112). The first of these conditions is the presence of a continually growing "public of potential consumers, of increasing social diversity, which guarantee the producers of symbolic goods minimal conditions of economic independence and, also, a competing principle of legitimacy" (112). Thus, the great growth in the literacy levels of the working classes and the expansion of the middle class experienced by the Western World during the nineteenth century combine to create a market for literary works which provides the autonomy needed for a literary institution to develop successfully. The second necessary condition identified by Bourdieu develops in tandem with the increase of "potential consumers" as it is marked by "the constitution of an ever-growing, ever more diversified corps of publishers and merchants of symbolic goods" who fulfill the needs and the desires of the reading public (112). The third criteria is met by the "multiplication and diversification of agencies of consecration" who have the power to proffer "cultural legitimacy" on a rare few of the products, producers, merchants, and consumers that make up the rest of the literary institution (112). Thus, Bourdieu's theory takes into account not only those cultural products which through sales or ticket purchases achieve material success (the field of large-scale production), it also deals with those works whose success is measured by their ability to earn symbolic or "cultural" capital (the field of restricted production). Unlike the field of large-scale production, in which achievement is measured by market-share and the greater financial profit that larger market share ultimately

produces, the field of restricted production, in which all its members act in the field as not only producers but also consumers, "tends to develop its own criteria for the evaluation of its own products" (115). The "products" which fulfill these criteria are thus accorded an appropriate amount of cultural capital, mostly by those members of the field who act as consecrators of cultural value. As Bourdieu writes, "the degree of autonomy enjoyed by a field of restricted production is measurable by the degree to which it is capable of functioning as a specific market, generating a specifically cultural type of scarcity and value irreducible to the economic scarcity and value of the goods in question" (117). Bourdieu's analysis is extremely useful in that, by assigning the cause of the autonomization of cultural production to the development of a field of restricted production and the autonomous symbolic economy that develops along with it rather than to specific historical, political, or economic events, it also provides a framework – as we will see later when we discuss the Canadian literary institution – for examining the same phenomenon in other countries and societies where at least some of the cultural institutions have gained similar independence.

If Dubois' L'Institution de la littérature is significant, it is because he addresses *how* the restricted field of literature actually functions. Specifically, Dubois applies Bourdieu's theories of the market of symbolic goods to the literary institution and attempts to trace the roles and interactions of each of its constituent parts. As Dubois demonstrates, the literary institution is a nexus of the field's agents in which not one of them holds a position that does not, in some way, depend on another:

> il n'y a pas de position autonome dans le champ autonomisé; toute position est toujours et par avance fonction des autres. Aussi l'écrivain est-il toujours, dès le moment où il écrit, quelqu'un qui cherche sa place dans ce jeu de positions, et le statut de ses écrits, il le sait, passera immanquablement par la médiation des instances qui exercent l'autorité symbolique. (87-88)

In L'Institution de la littérature Dubois works through each level of the institution, outlining not only the function of each but also pinpointing some of the complex interactions which necessarily occur, for instance, between "instances de production" and "instances de légitimation" (81). Perhaps the most useful part of his study, for the purposes of this chapter, is his analysis of the role played in the field by the university and, on a broader level, by the entire educational system. The teaching of literature does not only designate and transmit "un code de lecture (voire d'écriture) en forme de catégories stylistiques et thématiques" (98). As Dubois notes,

> À cet égard, [l'école] fait un peu plus que conserver et que célébrer les oeuvres du passé, car elle les introduit dans la logique d'un système qui projette nécessairement ses principes et ses catégories sur les productions du présent – productions que ce système est d'ailleurs toujours prêt à intégrer après sélection. (99)

The university then, by virtue of its function as the most prestigious and powerful consecrator in the literary field, serves to establish and propagate "un 'bon usage,' une 'bonne image' de la littérature" (100).

To anyone looking back over the last 150 years of literary studies, it should be evident that the Arnoldian notion of "excellence" – so clearly articulated in his

famous phrase "the best that is known and thought" – has played a key role in shaping the discipline as we know it today (Arnold 38). While Arnold's phrase implies that modern literature can be considered equal in many ways to the Classics, each representing "the best that [was] known and thought" in a particular period of history, what is most significant about their use is the weight of cultural importance that they place on those texts that are selected for study, and ultimately, for consecration as part of the literary canon. In other words, those texts which are chosen for inclusion in courses on literature (both the first courses ever offered on the subject and, as I will argue later, even those taught today) must, if only to justify the existence of such courses, be those which can be shown to be some of the best – if not *the* best – of their period and genre. Thus, even without any critical commentary, the mere inclusion of certain literary texts in courses of this kind immediately loads those particular texts with symbolic capital. In so doing, the university plays a significant role in maintaining and strengthening of the field of restricted production. As Doyle points out, "[by] legitimizing only the study of 'valuable works', the discipline manufacture[s] an essential and unbridgeable cultural difference between its own sphere of high art and the general domain of popular fiction and discourse" (English and Englishness 6). Bourdieu echoes this idea when he addresses how this type of consecration helps to ensure the restrictedness of the field of restricted production:

> while consumption in the field of large-scale production is more or less independent of the educational level of consumers (which is quite understandable, since this system tends to adjust to the level of demand), works of restricted art owe their specifically cultural rarity, and thus their

> function as elements of social distinction, to the rarity of the instruments with which they may be deciphered. ("Market" 120)

Nevertheless, it is also necessary that there is an adequate enough distribution of these "instruments" to allow the field to survive and even flourish, and that is precisely one of the chief functions of the university in its role as consecrating agent.

The university plays a more complex and multi-faceted role in the literary institution than do other agencies of consecration; while the university usually appears to be the most influential (or at least the most authoritative) bestower of symbolic capital in that it alone "accords that infallible mark of consecration, the elevation of works into 'classics' by their inclusion in curricula" (123), it also performs other functions that are of equal importance to the preservation and furthering of the field of restricted production. The first and foremost of these other roles is that – in its aim to transmit those works which it has consecrated, to propagate the canon which it has put in place – the university necessarily must act as a producer of "cultural consumers" (123) who it has trained to recognize the qualities which merit those works' acquisition of the amount of symbolic capital required to be considered "the best." In this way, not only does the university assure the continued consecration of those works already part of its canon, but it also establishes the framework necessary to allow for future works (and/or previously overlooked past works) possessing similar qualities to be included almost seamlessly into that same canon. It should also not be surprising that, since the study of literature first became an integral part of higher education and as the "instruments" for deciphering the restrictedness of the field became more and more dependent on the educational system, that an

increasing number of the people who become agents of production (writers, editors, publishers), diffusion (booksellers and publishers), or consecration (critics, academics, teachers, publishers, and editors) are also some of those same cultural consumers produced by the university. This example of the potential (and frequent) interconnectedness of the various levels in the literary field reveals how difficult it can be to study in isolation only one element of any field of restricted production. The typical university literature department is, in fact, a nexus of a varying number of agents in the field. Members of such a department are often more than simply professors of literature (those people who consecrate works and then transmit them to future cultural consumers or, in the very least, those who transmit a previously established canon). Frequently, they may also be writers (of fiction, non-fiction, drama, and/or poetry), critics, reviewers, editors, and even publishers. Thus, the university serves to both reproduce itself (through its role as producer of future academics) and to reproduce and strengthen that portion of the literary institution comprised of the field of restricted production. This, however, is not all that the university literature department serves to reproduce.

In La Reproduction, Bourdieu contends that the primary function of education is to ensure the continued survival of a society's dominant culture or class by producing agents capable of solidly maintaining and reinforcing the status quo:

> le travail pédagogique (qu'il soit exercé par l'Ecole, par une Eglise ou un parti) a pour effet de produire des individus durablement et systématiquement modifiés par une action prolongée de transformation tendant à les

doter d'une même formation durable (habitus), c'est-à-dire de schèmes communs de pensée, de perception, d'appréciation et d'action [. . .]. (233)

When Bourdieu speaks here of a "habitus" he is referring to a key term in his own theory of cultural or social reproduction. The habitus is those common elements of the way we act in society which seem to be second nature to us such as, like Bourdieu mentions in the above quotation, the way we think and perceive the world around us. What Bourdieu points out, however, is that these behaviors are less natural than we think; they are things that we both consciously and unconsciously learn from the time we are born. As summarized by Jacques Dubois, Bourdieu's theory sees cultural and social reproduction as being composed of three principal stages: "1° les structures sociales engendrent l'habitus; 2° l'habitus détermine les pratiques (esthétique notamment); 3° les pratiques reproduisent les structures" (Dubois 123). In other words, the social structure is reproduced by creating the habitus required for us to be able to act in the interest of preserving those original structures. Bourdieu also points out that the practices that are determined by the habitus are also unavoidably affected by the circumstances encountered by the individual or group: "la pratique est le produit d'une relation entre une situation et une habitus" (Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique 172, cited in Dubois 123). Thus, in the case of education, one can see the act of teaching as being one of the practices which helps to pass on the habitus to future students who will in turn reinforce the system as they not only take their place in the society which engenders the habitus but also, as parents and/or *productive* members of society, transmit the habitus along to subsequent generations: "la production en série d'individus identiquement programmés exige et suscite historiquement la production d'agents de programmation eux-

mêmes identiquement programmés et d'instruments standardisés de conservation et de transmission" (La Reproduction 233).

If education serves as a means of facilitating the propagation of the social structure from which it originates, then the study of literature strengthens this function even more. As Dubois points out, any form of discourse (including literature) is itself a transmitter of ideology, a reinforcer of social structures: "l'idéologie de la classe dominante opère insidieusement en se constituant en discours général, en discours de tous, même si les groupes dominés infléchissent et réinterpretent ce discours suivant leurs propres positions. Elle est, comme on la dit, ce qui cimente la formation sociale" (63). In this light then, it is not surprising that in any country, the most popular subject of literary studies is often the literature of that country or of the global language group of which that nation is a part. Dubois' statement also suggests that the discipline of Comparative Literature – which, in its aim to examine "World literature," posits itself as the exact opposite of a nation or language-based study of literature – can actually be seen to be somewhat of a reinforcement of the dominant ideology rather than a complete subversion of it. Ultimately, however, literature – as both a site of discourse and a discourse in itself – must be read in order for it to have any significant ideological function. It is not surprising, therefore, that it is the educational system which serves as both a transmitter and consecrator of literature and thus propagates the existing habitus or, at the very least, a habitus which undergoes only very minor changes over an extended period of time. Pointing to the thesis of Bourdieu and Passeron in La Réproduction, Guillory notes that "institutions of reproduction succeed by taking as their first object not

the reproduction of social relations but the reproduction of the institution itself" (57).

2. The Canadian Literary Institution

While I will argue that, with their theories of cultural (re)production and the literary institution, the work of Bourdieu and Dubois is highly applicable to any study of the Canadian literary institution, there are, nevertheless, key differences between the cultural context of France and Canada which must be taken into account. Both a nation formed through continuous immigration and a land taken from indigenous peoples by Imperial expansion, Canada necessarily injects other unique factors into the economy of symbolic goods and the transmission of symbolic power through the education system. The issue of national identity in Canada is a highly complex one that, as Saul argues persuasively in Reflections of a Siamese Twin, is structured around a rejection of the monolithic model of a nation state in favour of a paradigm that attempts to accommodate rather than eliminate heterogeneity: "the assumption of complexity is a search for balance between different elements; not eradication or domination of one over the others, but a continuing struggle to develop and maintain some sort of equilibrium" (223). A geographically and politically decentralized society, Canada has never had the same singular sense of nation or of national institutions as does France.

One of the issues at the centre of Bourdieu's analyses of cultural reproduction in France that differs significantly from the Canadian situation is that of class. Bourdieu's understanding of the "dominant class" is inevitably tied to the history of social and economic power among the French elite, though this is somewhat less relevant in France today compared to issues of immigration and the

European union. In Canada, the power at stake, that consolidated by the dominant class, has always been rooted as much in language and race as in economic and social relations. Further complicating any analysis of these processes is the fact that Canada, both officially and effectively, is a multicultural nation with two official languages.[7] This status, unusual but hardly unique among Western nations, complicates any chance of there ever being a uniform understanding of "Canadian" identity. It has also made Canadians far more conscious of, and frequently insecure, about the fact that we are still in the process of constructing our own identities through the education system, among other channels. As I discussed in chapter one, this understanding was one of the fundamental forces behind some of the early calls for a "nationalisation de la littérature" (Camille Roy 187). In Québec, the important role of literary production and the study of literature in this process of self-identification has been much more overt and has frequently developed in more concrete forms than in English Canada that tangibly affect the literary institution. In English-Canada, perhaps because there has not been the same deliberate, psychological break from its status as a British colony, the nature of the national identity is much more amorphous.

The fact that the differences in language, history, and sense of national identity have effectively led to a nation comprised of two solitudes has also meant that there are very few truly national institutions of production, distribution, and consecration in the literary field and only a small number of

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[7] Realistically, this means that Canada is comprised of people of many cultures and that these citizens mostly speak English or French. There are, in other words, a limited number of truly multicultural and bilingual Canadians.

bilingual readers who can effectively be considered as *national* agents of consumption. Aside from less than a handful of government agencies – the Canada Council and the National Library of Canada being the most prominent – the authors, publishers, distributors, readers, and consecrators of Canadian literature nearly always function solely in either English or French and rarely overlap. Understandably, then, one might be inclined to argue that there are two entirely separate literary institutions in Canada and thus two entirely self-contained literatures. The vast majority of literary criticism in Canada is rooted in precisely such an understanding, one which, importantly, does not conflict with and thus does not challenge the apparent uniformity of the critic's own cultural context. Such a paradigm – which is often expressed by the use of the terms "Canadian literature" and "littérature québécoise" to designate, respectively, English and French language writing in Canada – is a highly problematic and vastly oversimplified understanding of the Canadian literary institution; in no way can either of these categorisations adequately signify a wholly autonomous and easily definable body of literature.

As Frank Davey has pointed out in regards to English-Canadian literature, the vast size of Canada, combined with the complexity of Canadian identity, has led to a greater focus on regionalism as well as on literature produced by very specific constituencies of writers, such as that written by members of minorities, First Nations, or the gay and lesbian community. Not surprisingly, this fracturing of the literary field echoes and is echoed in other levels of the institution as well, most notably in the growth of regional and specialty presses. Further complicating this field of restricted production in Canada as compared to France, for example, is the fact that at no level does Canada have a nationally

controlled system of education. The consecrational power of schools and universities, therefore, is diffused somewhat. More importantly, this heterogeneous system allows for regional and institutional canons to develop in isolation from others while still framing themselves under the rubric of a single "Canadian literature."

As Saul notes, "the solitudes we live with are enormous and essentially healthy, but the concrete cultural interweaving which runs parallel to them is equally complex" (72). Even though, for instance, the Québécois literary institution does not face the same regional diversity and separation that characterize English Canada, it is still not as autonomous as it might like to consider itself. The literary institution in Québec is linked in many ways to institutional forces in the rest of Canada and in France. Aside from the more obvious issue of the not insignificant amount of Canada Council funding received by Québécois writers and publishers, there is also the question of the non-French writing and publishing that occurs in Québec. While some anglophone writers from Québec have had little to do with the predominantly francophone institutional structures there, others such as Gail Scott and publishers like Véhicule Press have benefitted to some degree from the institutional infrastructure which has developed alongside Québécois literature. This may occur simply from a writer or publisher being located in Québec, but they are also often involved with littérature québécoise by translating and publishing translations of Québécois texts, work which, it is important to note, is most often funded with help from the Canada Council translation grants program. A possible solution to this dilemma, of course, would be for the institutional structures of Québécois literature to begin to claim Anglophone

Québec writers as their own, thus positing "Québécois" as a term more inclusive than exclusive. The fact that many of these Anglophone writers are published by English-language presses outside of Québec and sometimes by multinational presses such as Penguin or Random House, though, would further erode the credibility of any claims to autonomy made by the literary institution in Québec. An additional complication is the fairly vibrant Francophone literary scene outside of Québec in provinces such as Manitoba and New Brunswick. Francophone writers and publishers from these regions, too, often depend upon the literary institution in Québec for distribution (via French language distributors and booksellers who ship to readers outside of Québec) and consecration (via reviews and critical articles in journals and newspapers). As Lucie Robert observes:

> la frontière géo-politique du Québec n'est elle-même pas très nette: quoi qu'en on dise et quelles que soient nos aspirations collectives ou individuelles, le Québec a des frontières perméables, perméables au Canada et aux communautés francophones hors Québec, à la France, aux États-Unis. Je ne pouvais pas construire une histoire qui soit fondée sur la fiction d'une autonomie politique, économique, et culturelle: celle de l'institution littéraire québécoise. ("Institution" 18)

For these very reasons, the overly-simplistic designations of "Canadian literature" as all literature written in English by Canadians and "Québécois literature" as everything written in French by citizens of Québec inevitably collapse under any significant scrutiny. To conclude, then, that there are two entirely separate and distinct literary institutions in Canada is highly problematic. Nevertheless, one cannot deny that, for the most part, most

Québécois agents in the field rarely interact with their counterparts in English Canada and vice-versa. This lack of interaction, however, should not be interpreted as proof of two autonomous fields of restricted production in Canada. While they may be almost entirely separate, it is quite clear that they operate within the same overall field of restricted production. A useful way of envisioning the overall shape of this field is as a Venn diagram (figure 1) in which two larger circles, one representing English-Canadian literature and the other Québécois literature, only slightly overlap.

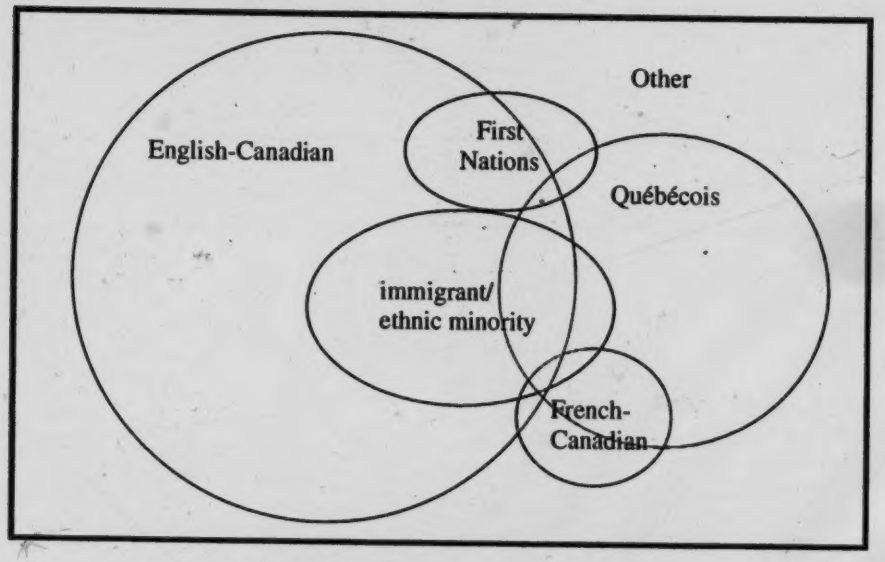

Figure 1: The Field of Restricted Production

The centre area shared by English-Canadian and Québécois literature signifies the institutional structures used by both constituencies and, in terms of literary production, the small body of work translated from one of the official languages into the other. Smaller circles representing First Nations and non-Québécois French-language writing overlap with these two main forces in the literary field but also exist partly outside these circles by means of the lesser-known work

produced by these communities and only distributed and consumed amongst themselves. Immigrant and ethnic minority writing in French and English occupies a centre position which places it within the two major fields. Finally, the field named "other" represents the Canadian writing produced in languages other than French or English which nearly always relies solely on the institutional structures of countries other than Canada. The field of restricted production in Canada, then, includes all of these aspects of Canadian literature. To look at English-Canadian literature in isolation from Québécois literature and vice versa, then, may perhaps be useful for looking at issues like literary tradition, questions of influence, or literary movements, but it is an inadequate approach when considering issues related to the institution such as publishing or canon formation. As we will see, the similar circumstances of these two primary constituents of the literary field, as well as their occasionally striking differences, reveal a great deal about the particularities of each.

One of the most significant traits of the Canadian literary institution, one which has a major impact on both English-Canadian and Québécois literature, is the extreme restrictedness of the field of restricted production. Unlike in countries with a much larger population – England, France, Germany, and the United States, for instance – the field of restricted production in Canada is so small that rarely can it single-handedly finance its own continuation. The field of restricted production, of course, eschews financial gain but nevertheless needs the money achieved through book sales to members of the field in order to maintain the production of symbolic goods. In Canada, due to the small number of these consumers, these material gains are rarely enough to sustain the publishers and authors of these texts. Since the formation of the Canada Council,

government funding has, somewhat ironically, helped to provide these agents with the autonomy needed to reinforce their position within the field. Competition for these funds also becomes, in some ways, a quest for cultural capital; those institutions and authors who receive grant money do so only because someone holding this both symbolic and economic power deems them worthy of financial support, thus adding to the symbolic prestige of the new grant holder. With a few notable exceptions, it is only when a book or author gains access to a larger field of restricted production outside of Canada that an author stands to earn enough financial remuneration to allow them to focus solely on their work as agents of production within the field of restricted production. Such success – especially when the author or text is allowed into larger and, to many Canadians, more prestigious, symbolic markets such as Britain, France or the United States – is most important in terms of the field of restricted production for the symbolic capital it gives to the author or text. Economic success, then, is not questioned, so long as it occurs within and helps to further the field. When such an author or text (both, in a sense, are equally symbolic goods) achieves commercial success and earns a place on the bestseller lists, however, this incursion into the field of large scale production often brings into question the symbolic worth of that particular author and/or work. As Bourdieu explains,

> [a] negative relationship [. . .], as the field increasingly imposes its own logic, is established between symbolic profit and economic profit, whereby *discredit* increases as the audience grows and its specific competence declines, together with the value of the recognition implied in the act of consumption. ("Field" 48)

The unusually small size of the field of literary production means that there are relatively few solely literary presses in Canada. With such a small market of consumers of symbolic goods, these publishers are only able to publish literary works with financial assistance from government agencies, most notably the Canada Council. Most Canadian presses primarily publish works for the field of large-scale production, though some still take part in the field of restricted production by publishing a much smaller proportion of literary texts. The most obvious example of the latter case is the large multinational corporations such as Bantam-Doubleday, Random House (recently bought by Bantam-Doubleday to form one mega-corporation), HarperCollins and Penguin who have the financial autonomy to enter the field of restricted production through Canadian branch plants and publish a select number of Canadian literary titles in English. A growing problem for small literary presses is that these large corporations have the economic capital to provide greater compensation to better known writers who, through the efforts of small literary presses, have already earned a significant amount of symbolic capital. Thus, small literary presses increasingly find themselves developing new authors who, after reaching a certain critical mass of cultural capital, leave for the greener pastures of larger publishers who, ultimately, are more concerned with acquiring prestige by publishing the works of writers who have already achieved a certain status within the field of restricted production. As Frank Davey explains,

> When faced with direct competition for authors by branch-plant publishers, all but two or three of the largest Canadian-owned presses are rarely able to continue to publish books by the newly established authors whose reputations they have developed. Their loss of authors like Brian Fawcett,

> Audrey Thomas, and Mordecai Richler to much better capitalized branch plants which can afford large advances and promotional budgets, in turn, limits the possibility that the Canadian publisher will ever be able to outgrow its dependence on state subsidy. ("Anglophone-Canadian Literature" 123)

This need to rely on government subsidy means that while such grants do provide some freedom from having to depend on high sales figures for literary works, literary publishers will never gain the autonomy they need to fully function within the field of restricted production. What occurs then is a continual cycle in which Canadian publishers work to develop literary talent – and thus earn cultural capital – only to lose that status as soon as the author achieves that type of success and then signs on with the larger branch-plant publishers.[8] While there is most certainly a symbolic value to being seen as a press that discovers and develops important literary talent, the loss of cultural capital that occurs when the best of that new talent leaves prevents that publisher from ever reaching the highest ranks in the field. The fact that most of the publishers to reach that top status are the wealthy multinational corporations further reinforces the popular notion that being published by an "international" publisher is more worthy of respect than being published by a Canadian publisher.

Both Québécois and English-Canadian literature have always found themselves in the shadow of French and British literature, respectively. One of

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[8] While there are no real French-language branch-plant publishers operating in Canada – no Gallimard Québec, for instance – some of Québec's most important authors are published by the

the chief reasons for this, and the subject of much debate in the early years of the Canadian literary institution, was whether Canadian literature could adequately distinguish itself from the literature of France or Britain without a unique and distinctly national language. Even within Canada, then, these "minor" literatures end up battling for prestige and attention with the "major" literatures written in the same language. The same predicament occurs for minor Canadian literatures. Non-Québécois French language writing from Manitoba or Acadia, for example, finds itself a further step down the hierarchy, forced to compete for cultural capital with both the literatures of France and Québec, not to mention with English-Canadian literary production by the majority population in those regions. Just as success in foreign markets, especially those of France, Britain, or the United States, guarantees a Canadian author or text a greater amount of cultural capital within Canada than would be earned with a similar level of success solely in Canada, these minority literatures achieve greater symbolic success when they are read and reviewed outside their own immediate cultural contexts. The esteem held by the Canadian literary institution for such outside success is especially true with respect to literary awards. National literary awards such as the Governor General's Awards and awards such as the Giller Prize and the Prix Athanase-David that are devoted to certain segments of the institution are one of the most important means of assigning and distributing cultural capital in Canada. Nevertheless, greater attention is nearly always paid by the institution when a Canadian book is nominated for foreign prizes such as the Booker Prize , the Prix Goncourt, or the American National Book Award.

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most prestigious French publishers. The late Anne Hébert had an exclusive publishing contract

This notion of a literary hierarchy, of course, is also ever present in the continuing tendency of many of Canada's élite who seem to find a greater "distinction" – to employ Bourdieu's use of the term – in reading foreign literary works, particularly those of the former colonial powers of Britain and France, and to a lesser degree, the United States. For instance, Lucien Bouchard's memoirs, notes John Ralston Saul, "contain dozens of enthusiastic references to European writers and culture" (262). Bouchard – who apparently keeps a complete set of the Pléiade editions of literary classics in his office – mentions a Québécois writer only once, making a "curiously inaccurate reference to Jacques Godbout's Les Têtes à Papineau" (523). While one characteristic of elitism in Canada is often a taste for the foreign over the domestic, this tendency is also fostered among literature students and scholars by the majority of literature departments at Canadian universities. Perhaps the most obvious way in which this colonial hierarchy is reinforced, especially in English Canada, is through the weight these departments give to the study of the literatures of Canada.

While the issue of department structures is a significant one – as we will see in chapter three, English-Canadian literature often comprises a maximum of fifteen percent of total course offerings in English departments while Québécois literature/non-Québécois French-Canadian literature can sometimes make up nearly forty percent of course offerings at some Québec universities – one of the most important sites of the bias in favour of the literatures of England and France is the mandatory literature courses required in first-year university in English Canada and at the CÉGEP level in Québec. Unlike in the United States where

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with Seuil while Réjean Ducharme publishes with Gallimard.

students usually take composition courses and no mandatory courses on literature, most first-year English courses in Canada combine training in writing with literary analysis; using primarily examples from the history of British literature, students frequently learn to analyse novels, poetry, and drama and demonstrate their understanding of the relevant concepts through a series of required writing assignments. As discussed in chapter one, the advent of the CÉGEP system in Québec brought about a deliberate increase in the attention paid to Québécois literature. The final level at which students must take required courses in language and literature – university students at Québec universities only take courses in their chosen area of specialization – the CÉGEP literature curriculum during the 1970s and 1980s included a significant proportion of Québécois literature, a great change from the traditional focus of the collèges classiques. Curricular reforms introduced in 1994, however, limited the number and type of courses available and, by returning to a curriculum structured around literary periods and movements rather than genres, shifted the emphasis back towards the French literary tradition.[9] As Max Roy argues, in an observation equally applicable to the place of Canadian literatures in first-year English courses, the problem with a mandatory curriculum in which a foreign literature is more heavily weighted than an indigenous one is what it implies about the importance of studying the literature(s) of one's own people: "l'enseignement d'une culture différente de la culture ambiante et présentée

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[9] For a more detailed explanation of these changes and their impact on the place of Québécois literature in the CÉGEP curriculum, see Max Roy's insightful study La Littérature québécoise au collège (1990-1996). Montréal: XYZ éditeur, 1998.

comme la culture de base implique inévitablement un jugement de valeur" (Littérature québécoise 103).

Furthermore, there are fundamental problems inherent in trying to posit literatures as naturally complex as those produced in Canada as being part or an offshoot of either the French or British tradition. Any study which takes into account all literature produced in Canada inevitably reveals "a literary and cultural tradition which has little to do with that suggested by simple linguistics and the false relationships produced by empires" (Saul 430). The usual structure of English and French departments and the placement of the literatures of Canada therein, however, implies that such unnatural comparisons are, in fact, the most appropriate. As Joseph Melançon contends, the somewhat arbitrary division of fields of knowledge into separate university departments, units, and programs "entraîne un fractionnement des savoirs, des disciplines et des compétences. Ces divisions, pourtant inoffensives puisqu'elles ne veulent que faciliter la gestion de l'entreprise universitaire, deviennent des divisions mentales" ("Conjoncture" 67). A prime example of how "le principe de 'division' est également un principe de 'vision'" (67) is that our tendency to see the literatures of Canada as a part of a larger body of work in either English or French means that we often overlook even the most striking similarities between the literatures of Canada, not to mention those between our own literatures and those of countries who we may have much more in common with culturally, historically or geographically than we do with either England or France. "[We] waste a great deal of time comparing our literature with its linear neighbours in English and French," argues John Ralston Saul (426).

> If our fiction resembles any other it is Russian and the other Northern literatures. If our contrasting sophistication and insecurity resembles anyone's, it is that of Central Europe and Latin America. We really have very little in common with two European ex-empires and the United States, all three beneficiaries of temperate, manageable lands, dense populations and centralized mythologies. (426)

The tendency to posit the literatures of Canada as being ineluctably attached to the literary traditions of Britain and France is far more prevalent in the country's English departments. As I will discuss in greater detail in chapter three, most English departments in the country are quite uniform in their curriculum. The requirements for major, specialization, concentration, or honours in English – the terminology varies between institutions – almost always calls for a selection of courses that give the student broad coverage in a variety of periods and genres of British literature combined with a certain number of optional courses, including those in other national literatures such as those of Canada and the United States. Even in those English departments that require students to take a course or two in Canadian literature (it is rare that more than one full course is required in either), the British tradition is still the foundation of the literature program. The situation in Québec is significantly different. There is a large variation in the curricula of the Université de Montréal's Département d'études françaises, the Université Laval's Département de littératures, and the Université du Québec à Montréal's Département d'études littéraires. Although, as discussed in the first chapter, there are a significant number of historical reasons for this divergence between the three universities and the vast difference

between literary studies at French-language universities in Québec and English-language universities throughout the country, one of the key factors that contributes to the shape of the curriculum in Québec is the presence of the CÉGEP system. Unlike institutions in English Canada, the students entering literature programs at Universities in Québec arrive having already taken a considerable number of courses at the CÉGEP level. This enables the university literature departments to offer much more specialized courses and, seemingly, a wider variety of program choices, although the English language universities there still seem to have curricula extraordinarily similar to universities outside of the province. The larger presence of Québécois literature in these departments, of course, also make the university an even greater force within the literary institution as a whole than are their counterparts in English universities.

By their structure alone, then, university literature departments and the courses they offer have a significant impact on how their students conceive of the literatures of Canada. Even more than the equivalent departments in England, France, and the United States, the function of the university literature department in Canada goes beyond being simply the bestower of "that infallible mark of consecration" (Bourdieu, "Market" 123). With Canada's much smaller population – and therefore a smaller constituency of readers of literature – many of the agents within the literary institution become concentrated within the university system. In other words, it is not unusual to find professors or instructors who, in addition to serving as agents of consecration, act as agents of production (as writers of literature and literary criticism) and/or dissemination (as publishers, editors, members of funding bodies, or booksellers). This multiple agency rarely occurs in the other fields of study housed in university

literature departments. One cannot, in other words, be a writer of nineteenth-century French poetry, nor can a scholar of today also be a publisher of, say, new modernist fiction, unless, of course, he or she is attempting to consecrate previously neglected works which have been long out of print. Even scholars of contemporary literature written outside Canada are still one step removed from the literary institution of which those texts are a part; they cannot, therefore, achieve the same level of agency within the field of restricted production that Canadianists frequently possess with respect to the Canadian literary institution.

One of the most obvious ways in which Canadian universities affect other levels of the institution is via the symbiotic relationship that forms between publishing and teaching. Naturally, one can only usually teach what has been published and is readily available, but the curriculum can also have a significant effect on the publishing world. Just as changes in the 1890s to the Baccalauréat curriculum in France caused more literary histories, anthologies and textbooks published in the first decade of the twentieth century than in the previous fifty years (Melançon, Moisan and Roy 240), the advent of courses on the literatures of Canada dramatically increased literary publishing in Canada. During the 1920s, for instance, when a surge in Canadian nationalism prompted the offering of a number of courses on Canadian literature at both English and French universities, there was a great output of critical works on the subject. These included Baker's A History of English-Canadian Literature to the Confederation (1920), three new editions (1920, 1923, 1925) of Roy's Manuel d'histoire de la littérature canadienne-française (1918), Logan and French's Highways of Canadian Literature (1924), MacMechan's Headwaters of Canadian Literature (1924), Stevenson's Appraisals of Canadian Literature (1926), and Pierce's An

Outline of Canadian Literature (French and English) (1927). Later, as the study of the literatures of Canada became more common and, more importantly, as literary studies moved away from a historical approach to a methodology oriented toward textual analysis, it became increasingly important that affordable and complete editions of literary texts were made available for students of literatures of Canada. Responding to this need, McClelland and Stewart founded the New Canadian Library series in 1957 under the direction of Malcolm Ross, then a professor of English at Queen's University. Conversely, once the New Canadian Library series began, the choice of titles to be included had a tremendous effect on what was taught in these Canadian literature courses. Academics, though hardly lazy in their scholarship or teaching, are understandably more inclined to teach readily available texts than they are to search out forgotten classics and endeavour to distribute them to students in the form of photocopies or used editions tracked down through the local antiquarian bookseller.

One of the major contributing factors to a text's inclusion on a course is always, at least initially, its availability at a reasonable price. Yet, the relationship between publishing and the university in very often far more complex than there simply being two autonomous organizations, each of which benefits by responding to the needs of the other. In many instances, professors themselves are directly involved in the editorial decisions made by publishers and sometimes even in their day-to-day operations. As editors, academics not only serve as experts in the field apparently capable of judging the quality of a given work but also as signs of prestige which imbue that text with a certain authority, an endorsement from the chief consecrators of the literary field. With

the New Canadian Library, for example, the General Editor is David Staines, a professor of English and the current Dean of Arts at the University of Ottawa. A well-known critic and commentator on Canadian literature, Staines is responsible for calling together the advisory panel – made up of Alice Munro, Guy Vanderhaege and UBC English professor W.H. New – to decide upon which books should be added to the series and which writer and/or critic should be asked to write the book's afterword, a further mark of consecration which is highlighted on the book's cover. Publishers also often choose academics to edit literature anthologies which, not coincidentally, are nearly always oriented towards the classroom. Aside from making these selections on the basis of who will compile an interesting and worthwhile collection of literary work, the publishers also intend for the name of the editor to confer a symbolic value upon the anthology, not only because he or she is an expert researcher but also, presumably, an expert teacher in the field. In a few notable cases, these literary publishers are themselves professors of literature. Two of the most important English-language presses in which academics play a fundamental role are ECW Press, of which McGill English Professor Robert Lecker is a co-owner and co-director, and NeWest Press founded by a number of academics and writers including Rudy Wiebe, Diane Bessai, and Douglas Barbour. There are numerous other examples of professors who have founded their own presses or literary journals. Frank Davey, for instance, owns and edits Open Letter, and Voix et Images and Canadian Literature are published under the aegis of the Université de Québec à Montréal's Département d'études littéraires and the University of British Columbia's Department of English respectively. These cases clearly

reveal that, in the context of the Canadian literary field, it is rarely easy to separate academia from publishing.

Adding to the complexity of the field of restricted production in Canada is the number of professors who are also writers of fiction, poetry, and, to a lesser extent, drama. One need only look at the winners of the Governor General's Awards for the last five years to see how intertwined the worlds of academia and creative writing really are. Of the ten winners of the awards for Fiction in English and French between 1993 and 1998, eight are or have been employed as professors of literature and/or creative writing at either the university or college level: Carol Shields (1993), Don Coles (1993), Rudy Wiebe (1994), Greg Hollingshead (1995), Guy Vanderhaeghe (1996), Aude (1997), Diane Schomeperlen (1998), and Christiane Frenette (1998). In the poetry categories for the same years, a total of three winners are or have been employed as professors of literature and/or creative writing at either the university or college level: Denise Desautels (1993), E.D. Blodgett (1996), and Pierre Nepveu (1997). These numbers are a good indication of the numbers of Canadian authors who are also professors. The list of writers and poets who teach or have taught in universities as professors of literature and/or creative writing includes many of Canada's most important writers, including Robert Kroetsch, Lorna Crozier, Michael Ondaatje, Frank Davey, Guy Vanderhaeghe, Thomas King, Kristjana Gunnars, and Anne Michaels. An even greater roster of Canadian writers have benefitted from writers-in-residence programs at universities across the country. One need only look at the biographies of writers such as Margaret Laurence, Timothy Findley, W.O. Mitchell, Michael Ondaatje, Margaret Atwood, Austin Clarke, Alice Munro, and Dionne Brand to see how such programs have affected the

history of Canadian literature. In some cases, writer-in-residence positions allowed emerging writers to hone their craft without needing to resort to finding day jobs which would distract them from their work, in others such positions allowed writers the time to begin or complete works which would become major landmarks in Canadian literature. Additionally, the placement of such writers in term positions at Canadian universities gave young aspiring writers access to the experience and advice of writers who had already achieved some literary success.

The place of creative writing programs at Canadian universities further reinforces the enmeshment of the university in the Canadian literary institution. One only need look at the number of Canadian writers who have emerged from these programs, often under the tutelage of established Canadian writers. The example of NeWest Press is again relevant here. Their Nunatak fiction series publishes fiction by young and emerging Canadian writers. The two most successful novels of this series so far have been Thomas Wharton's Icefields and Hiromi Goto's Chorus of Mushrooms. Both authors are graduates of the Creative Writing program at the University of Alberta, where Rudy Wiebe, general editor of the Nunatak series, and Douglas Barbour, president of NeWest have long been employed as professors. Wharton's novel, in fact, was begun as a project for a creative writing course taught by Wiebe. This is not to suggest that there was any nepotism involved in the publication of Wharton's book. On the contrary, Icefields is a stellar début novel which received critical acclaim nationally and internationally – Wiebe's position merely gave him the fortune of discovering it. Nonetheless, the circumstances surrounding the novel's production and the fact that it has subsequently been taught in courses at the

University of Alberta – as has Goto's Chorus of Mushrooms – serves to demonstrate further the potential complexities of the university's role in such a small and insular field of restricted production. In other words, in the case of Icefields the University of Alberta and several of its staff were intimately involved in its production, dissemination, and consecration. The model of the field as envisioned by Bourdieu and later echoed by Dubois, however, only positions the university as being directly involved in the process of consecration. In the cases of the literatures of Canada, but especially English-Canadian literature and Québécois literature, the university is tightly enmeshed in nearly all levels of the literary institution.

The Canadian university's effect on publishing goes beyond the multiple agencies of many academics in that departmental structures and curricula also have a major impact on what gets published. Books and especially anthologies are often published to fill specific niches or gaps in the curriculum. Anthologies in particular are nearly always designed with teaching in mind and, thus, can have a limited value outside the classroom. What is most interesting about these anthologies is that, while they may respond to the needs of the curriculum, they also shape any curriculum into which they are integrated. The most frequent use for Canadian literature anthologies is in survey courses where it would be unrealistic and impractical to use only individual texts to cover a literary history of several hundred years. Survey courses, which are based on a principle of coverage of various periods, genres, and movements rather than in-depth analysis of individual texts, require anthologies possessing a similar range of content. When an anthology is chosen for a course, though, then the choices made by its editors will often play a significant role in what texts a student will

read in the course. Obviously, an instructor will choose to cover only a relatively small portion of the selections for his or her students to read – anthologies are often large enough to accommodate a wide range of instructor preferences. Given the limited time and resources available to an instructor, it is often difficult and impractical for him or her to address adequately what has been left out of the anthology, those texts the editors deemed unworthy of inclusion given the limited space available for any one author, text, or period. Relegated to focusing on those texts chosen by the editors, the instructor often unhappily allows the anthology to at least partially shape his or her curriculum.

The popular Oxford anthology An Anthology of Canadian Literature in English, edited by University of Toronto professors Russell Brown and Donna Bennett, offers an excellent example of how this can occur. Oriented towards the type of full-year survey course offered at the University of Toronto, the anthology covers Canadian literature from its origins to the present day. It makes several key choices, though, which reflect a very specific notion of Canadian literature. The first and most obvious choice any editor must make is where to begin. This is an especially important decision when, as in the case of the Brown and Bennett anthology, the editors are arranging the selections chronologically and therefore are establishing a de-facto literary history, whether they intend to or not. Unlike literary histories like W.H. New's A History of Canadian Literature which take into account Native oral tradition and early exploration literature, Brown and Bennett's anthology situates the beginning point more conservatively with excerpts from Frances Brooke's The History of Emily Montague (1769). As my interviews with professors using these anthologies revealed, the difficulty of asking students to purchase separate texts

dedicated to Native oral literature and exploration literature combined with the fact that these topics would only be a small part of the survey course led professors to begin their courses with one of the early texts in the anthology. One of the other most obvious editorial choices, which may actually have been decided for the editors by Oxford itself, was to focus solely on English-Canadian literature – in other words, Canadian literature written originally in English. While an anthology that would cover all of the literatures of Canada would be larger, far more difficult to compile, and partially outside the editors' areas of expertise, the decision to focus solely on English-Canadian literature also reflects the practice of a great number of English departments in Canada, most notably that of the University of Toronto, where Bennett and Brown are employed. Such a decision, likely prompted by the realities of some departments that do not include French-Canadian literature as part of their "Canadian literature" courses, therefore limits the ability of other universities which do not have such policies or practices to offer an introduction to French-language literature in any meaningful way. At best, professors relying on the anthology plus a selection of individual novels might be able to include one or two French language novels in translation. Most, or so my interviews indicate, do not make the effort and resolve to follow the less complicated path of dealing only with English-Canadian literature. Each of these cases demonstrates the perfect circularity of the process in which decisions made by academics prompt decisions made by publishers which then lead to further decisions made by academics.

There is, too, an unavoidable connection between publishing, teaching, and the reception or consumption of texts in the field of restricted production. The continual inclusion of certain texts in curricula of courses on the literatures of

Canada assures those texts not only regular sales but a continually renewed body of readers. Equally critical to the survival of the field is the potential that these readers may go on to read other works by the authors they have studied and may also assist in the dissemination of the chosen authors or texts by recommending them to other readers outside those courses or even outside of the academy. The mere inclusion of texts on course reading lists, then, imbues those works and their authors with a symbolic value not easily acquired by those that are not chosen to be part of the curriculum. In other words, it is highly unlikely that works or authors in the latter circumstance will ever be widely diffused over an extended period of time. As David Arnason contends,

> A Canadian writer who does not end up being taught is unlikely ever to prove more than an historical footnote. Any writer who is dead and whose work is not part of the canon, that is to say not studied in schools by a sufficient number of students to make the reprinting of his or her work worthwhile, will simply vanish into the dustheap of Canadian literary history. (60)

A look at up-to-date sales figures for the New Canadian Library series reveals to what degree the frequent teaching of a text can affect both sales and readership. Perhaps the most frequently taught Canadian novel of the last thirty-five years is Margaret Laurence's The Stone Angel. Its habitual presence on high school and university courses – what Arnason labels "the biggest market we have for Canadian literature" (60) – has undoubtedly affected its sales and readership tremendously; The Stone Angel remains the all-time best-selling title of the New Canadian Library series, outselling its nearest competitor, Laurence's The Diviners, by more than two to one. Two important novels that appeared in the

New Canadian Library series around the same time as The Stone Angel are Sheila Watson's The Double Hook and Mordecai Richler's The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz.[10] Although these two novels are reasonably canonical, neither has ever been taught as habitually as The Stone Angel. New Canadian Library sales figures for up to January 1999 indicate that while Laurence's novel has sold around 212, 000 copies in that edition, The Double Hook has only sold approximately 23, 000 copies (about 11% of Laurence's sales) and The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz has sold just over 41, 000 copies in its New Canadian Library edition (just over 19% of Laurence's sales). Thus, the inexpensive editions of the New Canadian Library series helped make English-Canadian literature far easier to teach, but the choices made by professors also helped to keep these books in print and, more importantly, shaped a definite canon of which texts should be taught and/or are the most "teachable." As Jack McClelland revealed in a letter to Allan Weiss, McClelland & Stewart relied as much on the efforts of professors of Canadian literature as the professors relied on the New Canadian Library: "From the late fifties to the seventies the Canadian literature market grew very rapidly because of a handful of dedicated people – spread across the country in fact – at universities and highschools who were nationalistic and who pushed Canlit very actively" (Weiss 175-6). As the sales figures indicate, however, there is no doubt that certain writers were "pushed" more than others.

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[10] New Canadian Library editions of The Double Hook, The Stone Angel, and The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz were published in 1966, 1968, and 1969 respectively (Friskney). Janet Friskney also notes that "mass market editions of Laurence's work in Seal [Books] in the mid-1970s had an impact on her NCL sales – the [mass market] editions were cheaper and Seal books were marketed to academics for student use, something that upset Laurence" (Friskney).

While it is difficult to argue that The Stone Angel is not one of the more significant novels ever written in Canada – at least one recent poll has named it the best novel in the history of (English) Canadian literature, as did the infamous 1978 "Calgary Conference" – it is clear that one of the reasons it is so popular and so widely read is because it is frequently taught and vice-versa. Although a prominent place in university and high school curriculum is far from the sole factor to earn The Stone Angel such a prominent place in Canadian literary history, it is highly unlikely that it would still be cited today as perhaps the best Canadian novel of the century without that continuous introduction of new readers to the text. As Max Roy argues in the introduction to his 1998 study La Littérature québécoise au collège (1990-1996), the teaching of works by Canadian authors in literature courses has a profound effect on all levels of the literary institution:

> Son influence se mésure éventuellement dans les habitudes de lecture et de fréquentation du théâtre qui signifie de multiples répercussions. Dans cette perspective, la situation de l'enseignement littéraire or théatral au collégial mérite toute l'attention des personnnes intéressées par les arts et les lettres, qu'il s'agisse des auteurs, des distributeurs, des libraires, des producteurs, ou des enseignants eux-mêmes. (12)

Roy, of course, refers here to a very specific context, that of the mandatory language and literature courses for CÉGEP students, to which the nearest equivalent at universities in English Canada is the compulsory first-year English courses for Arts students. By including these comments in his introduction, Roy clearly aims to make his readers recognize that by instituting a new curriculum which lessens the proportion of Québécois literature studied in these courses,

those responsible for this decision have set in motion a gradual but inevitable reshaping of the entire field of restricted production. Roy's observation is perfectly applicable to the place of the literatures of Canada in both English and French universities. When university literature departments choose or are obliged to provide only limited coverage of the literatures of Canada, they also necessarily limit the number and scope of works that will ever be consecrated as "classic" or important Canadian books. This, in turn, affects the production, sales, and legitimation of the literatures of Canada, thus lessening the probability that any future great Canadian novels will be recognized and consecreated as such.

While the role of universities today are difficult to define fully, it is clear, as Joseph Melançon remarks, that

> [leur] raison d'être, toutefois est la transmission du savoir. Non par une transmission empirique, au gré des circonstances et des individus, mais une transmission autorisée, officiellement reconnue, qui conduit à une sanction, sous forme de diplôme. (63)

Consequently, that knowledge which the university and its professors deem worthy of being transmitted is inevitably loaded with a symbolic authority. As people who produce works of literary criticism, occasional reviews and lectures oriented to the general populace, and, more importantly, teach works of literature to future "cultural consumers," professors of literature inevitably and intentionally accord certain titles and authors a privileged place within the field of restricted production; bestowed with this symbolic value, what were once mere books become works of Literature worthy of being passed on to future generations and a few authors are deemed to be representative of a national

literary tradition. At first, the writing of criticism and reviews may seem to be the most long-lasting form of consecration, but the effect of teaching reaches much further. As Carole Gerson persuasively demonstrates in "Cultural Darwinism: Publishing and the Canon of Early Canadian Literature in English," although curricula may initially be affected by what books are available, what gets taught even further affects what gets published. The case of the teaching of early English-Canadian literature, an area of English-Canadian literature most frequently represented by one or two texts on a survey course, perfectly demonstrates how a limited place on the curriculum leads to fewer titles being available to fill that slot. This limited choice inevitably works to narrow the field of consecrated texts, resulting in professors being forced to choose always those same titles as course texts. What Bourdieu describes as the "almost perfect circularity and reversibility of the relations of cultural production and consumption resulting from the objectively closed nature of the field of restricted production" ("Market" 118), also extends to the world of scholarly publishing. As Gerson points out, "we tend to research and write about the authors and texts that we teach in our more specialized courses" (26). While such upper-level courses are often designed around a professor's own research interests, it is important to note that for these authors or texts truly to be consecrated, there usually must be a mutually reinforcing interplay between teaching and research and, as we have already seen, publishing.

The decision as to what to teach or write about is never apolitical and never based solely on "excellence," despite the Canadian universities' apparently ongoing faith in the ideals of Arnoldian humanism; while the political agenda of pedagogy may be more difficult to determine than in literary criticism, it is

certainly, as Heather Murray contends, "as 'political' as scholarship, despite a persistent ivory-towerism that sees literary studies as a haven in a heartless university" (161). No matter how neutral or objective some professors of the literatures of Canada may like to see themselves, it is impossible for them to escape the multiple forms of "literary power" they hold. Aware of their own agency and that of their colleagues, they cannot overlook the far-reaching effects of their decisions in matters of curriculum, teaching practices, and research. There is also, at the same time, a huge pressure for professors of literature to appear to others and even themselves as objective, dispassionate scholars who as the primary consecrators of this particular field of restricted production, base their decisions on a single criteria: literary "excellence." For consecration to occur, it seems essential for scholars to deny rather than declare their own self-interest in the literary institution; the more professors are seen as having nothing to gain by their deliberations over the symbolic worth of a given text or author, the more their opinion appears to other levels of the field as being credible and authoritative. "Paradoxalement," notes Joseph Mélançon about the role of professor and critic, "le désintéressement est rémunéré en 'distinction,' dans la conjoncture scientifique. Plus spécifiquement, la forme impersonelle de son exposé devient l'argument souverain de sa crédibilité" (68).

The even greater paradox here is that this denial of self-interest is motivated entirely by self-interest – more precisely, every professor's own quest for symbolic capital. Given their often multiple interests in the literary field and, additionally, that their work as consecrators through publishing works of criticism is the activity Canadian research universities rewards most heavily, professors nearly always have a great deal of personal investment in the

consecration of particular works or the oeuvres of certain writers. These texts and authors, it is worth noting, have usually achieved some degree of symbolic legitimacy in the field or are already part of the canon. As Gerson observes, this tendency ties in to the continuing pursuit of symbolic profit by these supposedly neutral agents of consecration: "research performed on an unavailable text by an obscure author may be accorded little recognition for career advancement" (28). There can be, however, some additional distinction to be earned by working on writers or texts from just outside the mainstream but which still have been received the legitimation bestowed by previous critical attention – a difference Bourdieu pinpoints by distinguishing the true avant-garde from the "consecrated avant-garde" ("Production of Belief" 86). There are, in other words, many factors which may motivate the teaching, research, and eventual consecration of a particular text or writer by the field's primary agents of consecration: professors of literature.

Legitimation, let alone consecration, does not occur simply because of the preferences of individual university literature departments and the professors who work (in) them. The inclusion of a text in a single course or in several courses taught by the same professor or within the same institution functions within the field of restricted production as merely an anomalous event which, while perhaps pointing to a certain legitimacy of the cultural product, can in no way represent the judgement of the field as a whole. To be truly consecrated and receive the full symbolic profit accorded in this process, a single work or the oeuvre of an author needs to be taught far more than once or twice and must appear on the curricula at a good number of universities. What makes writers such as Anne Hébert and Margaret Atwood and texts like Roughing it in the

Bush and Maria Chapdelaine so canonical, then, is that they are on the curricula at practically every Canadian university and have likely been taught at least once by nearly every professor in the field. Once these authors and works earn a major place in the canon, their canonicity generates a greater amount of literary criticism about them. For as Dubois points out, the university's role is not only one of consecration, but also one of conservation (87). The goal is to conserve the hegemony of the canon, of course, but also for the university to preserve itself and its role in the literary field.

The primary means by which Canadian university literature departments preserve themselves is by producing agents who will recognize, value, and perpetuate the aesthetic qualities deemed important by the field and, particularly, the scholars in university literature departments. The continual production of graduates well-versed in these criteria allows the field to conserve the privileged position of already canonized works, but also to admit into the fold new works that live up to the same criteria. These agents produced by the university are not simply the few graduates who will continue on to eventually teach literature at the post-secondary education level or even at the primary or secondary education level. More crucial to the field's survival and self-reproduction are the "cultural consumers" generated by the university, for they act as a knowledgeable audience for the products in the field of literary production. While in Canada they are rarely numerous enough to bring great economic reward to cultural producers, their support and consumption of symbolic goods is of fundamental importance to the symbolic economy, bringing cultural capital to the most successful agents of production and symbolic bankruptcy to the least. In addition, the existence of an active symbolic economy

further justifies the need for departments of literature that serve as the most authoritative consecrators and, thus, distributors of symbolic capital. Part of the reason, then, that the models proposed by Bourdieu and further addressed by Dubois are so appropriate to the context of the Canadian literary institution is the degree to which the field of restricted production relies so heavily on a economy of purely symbolic goods.

Unlike the markets in countries with larger populations, there is usually not a consumer base large enough to allow Canadian agents of production (writers, publishers, distributors) to survive, let alone prosper, purely from the economic profits derived from the consumption of symbolic goods. In fact, a great number of Canadian publishers, if not the majority, get a significant amount of their operating revenue from government grants, which give them the funds necessary to publish and keep in print literary works by Canadian authors. In this way, the symbolic economy in Canada is propped up to a considerable degree by public funds which facilitate the competition between works, publishers, and authors for the limited degree of symbolic capital available in such a closed system. It is not insignificant to note that the Québec government provides a vastly higher level of funding[11] to its publishers and the book industry than any other provincial government, for they understand particularly well the crucial role played by the symbolic economy in terms of the strengthening of national identity and the process of cultural reproduction. Just as governments

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[11] According to Québec's Société de développement des entreprises culturelles, a government organization that looks after the state of the cultural industries in Quebec, in 1999-2000 Québécois publishers received $2 775 000 from the Québec government, with an additional $5 700 000 going to the book industry. In comparison, Alberta publishers received $335 000 from their provincial government and Ontario publishers $572 000 from theirs.

fund publishers and give grants to writers and translators, the parts of the literary institution responsible for the production of the goods which will enter into the symbolic economy, they also subsidize the education system, which looks after both the dissemination of those works (through the students who are obligated to buy and read them) and their consecration. Clearly, the universities' role in this process is essential for it provides the outlet for the symbolic goods the government has already helped to produce.

The magnitude of the university's role in the Canadian literary institution, then, is necessarily much greater than in the larger markets such as Britain or France, where products might be able to acquire enough capital from other agents of consecrations (reviews, academies, literary prizes) to maintain a considerable status. In Canada, however, there is a heavy reliance on the role of the university, though today it may not be as great as it was thirty years ago in the study of the literatures of Canada. Once overly dependant on the university for legitimation and consecration, the growing symbolic economy in Canada, fuelled partly by an increasing global interest in the literatures of Canada, seems to be leading to a day where some Canadian writers and publishers may be able to achieve and, more importantly, maintain a high level of symbolic capital without a major acceptance by the university literature departments. This growing diversification and apparent independence of agents of production – many of whom, it is important to remember, are still directly involved in the university – plays directly into the ambition of Canadianists to increase their own symbolic worth. Once heavily criticized for their supposedly unscientific encouragement and patronage of literary production in Canada, professors of the literatures of Canada are now more able to assume a position of uninterestedness

and claim that the literatures no longer need their help to survive. As we have seen, though, such claims of scientific objectivity are not only disingenuous, but completely erroneous; they seek only to perpetuate an Arnoldian vision of the function of departments of literature in which scholars objectively and dispassionately determine and pass on to future generations the "best that is thought and said in the world" (Arnold 38). In reality, though, there is much more at work in such deliberations.

As Bourdieu notes in La Reproduction, one of the essential functions of the educational process is to "reproduire, autant que le lui permet son autonomie relative, les conditions dans lesquelles ont été produits les reproducteurs, i.e. les conditions de sa reproduction" (47). In the context of the study of the literatures of Canada, it is clear that Canadian university literature departments have done exactly this and used this new area of study as a means of perpetuating themselves. Specifically, these departments have encouraged the study of literatures of Canada to develop in ways which subtly reinforce the primary role of the English and French studies in Canada rather than actively bringing them into question.[12] A prime example, as I will discuss more thoroughly in chapter four, is that of the place of the Canadian literatures within monolingual department structures. Initially, the study of French-language literature from Québec in French departments or programs and the study of English-Canadian literature in English departments or programs made practical sense as these were

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[12] While some programs such as that in Canadian literature at the University of Victoria or the graduate program in Comparative Canadian literature at the Université de Sherbrooke work against this model, the only department in English Canada to which this statement does not apply is the Department of Comparative Literature, Religion, and Film/Media Studies. With its over 30 year history of teaching courses in Comparative Canadian literature, it posits the

the only sites for the study of contemporary literature. Rather than eventually growing beyond the confines of these department structures,[13] the study of the literatures of Canada has settled into what is most often a minority role in these departments. In the process of doing so, the tendency among professors has been more and more to consider the body of literature produced in Canada as being divided into two separate and monolingual entities: English-Canadian literature (more frequently referred to as simply Canadian literature) and Québécois literature. While there are obviously political and culturally reproductive reasons to envision literary production in Canada as a case of "two solitudes," the traditional department structures of English and French also have much to gain from perpetuating such a simplistic notion of the literatures of Canada. By finding ways to mask the unsuitability and inability of such monolingual and monocultural department structures to deal with what can potentially be understood as a multilingual and multicultural body of work, departments such as these have been able to make it seem as if they are progressive and incorporating new literary voices while actually reinforcing the traditional hegemony of English and French literature.

Like the entire process of education, literature departments are able to create this illusion by successfully creating a setting in which students, and even faculty, first accept and then come to forget "l'univers de présupposés, de censures et de lacunes" (Leçon sur la leçon 10). In this way, the educational

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literatures of Canada as part of the larger body of world literature and does not tie the study of the subject in any way to the study of the literatures of England or France.

[13] It is important to note here that for a number of years Laval had a separate department devoted to littérature canadienne-française. This department eventually rejoined with the Département d'études françaises, but the strength and depth of course offerings in Québécois literature continues to this day.

system, which, as Bourdieu contends, always serves to reproduce cultural relations, effectively imposes "la vérité partielle d'un groupe comme la vérité des relations entre les groupes" (23). With the case of the literatures of Canada, it is clear that this is precisely what happens; by (re)producing certain understandings of the literatures of Canada – principally those which concentrate on the English and French literary production and posit each as being entirely separate and uncomplementary to the other – courses in the literatures of Canada also work to perpetuate a similar understanding of Canada itself. As the circularity of Bourdieu's model suggests, this cultural reproduction occurs on many levels. Courses in either English-Canadian literature or Québécois literature which promote a monolingual vision of that particular body of literature inevitably affect the demand for Canadian literature in translation. Not only do such courses not employ translated works as course texts, they also make it less likely that any of the cultural consumers they produce will read much work from the "other" main body of Canadian writing. The example of literature in translation is only one example of how those "présupposés, de censures et de lacunes" (10) work their way into other levels of the institution, thus making those gaps perpetuated by literature departments seem even more natural and appropriate.

A careful look at the interactions between all of these levels of the literary field in Canada makes it abundantly clear that the literary institution (pre)determines the parameters of our understanding of the Canadian literatures. In a 1998 CBC interview, John Ralston Saul remarked, "What you think the country is, determines entirely what you are able to do" As Bourdieu and Dubois reveal in seminal texts like the former's La Reproduction and "Le Marché

des biens symboliques" and the latter's L'insitution de la littérature, the inverse is equally true: practice affects perception in every possible way. The synechdocal constructions of "Canadian literature" (as English-language literature only) and, to a much lesser degree, "Québécois literature" (as French-language literature from Québec), are prime instances of how universities frequently employ what Bourdieu describes as their "monopoly of legitimate symbolic violence" ("Manet" 250). By accepting such a completely arbitrary construction as natural or, at least, logical, university literature departments across Canada have perpetuated an oversimplified understanding of the national literatures which, conveniently, does not truly threaten their own stockpiles of symbolic capital. At the same time, of course, they also project a very specific vision of English-Canadian and Québécois society which reinforces the hegemony of the dominant class in each constituency. As we will see in chapter three, while these conceptions of the literatures of Canada are firmly rooted in issues of institutional self-reproduction, they have also been influenced by the forces of cultural nationalism.

Chapter Three

(Un)Completed Field Notes:

Assessing the State of Canadian Literary Studies in 1997-98

While the history of the teaching of the literatures of Canada helps to reveal a great deal about how it has been influenced by cultural nationalism and institutional structures and interactions, one of the chief shortfalls of the previous research done in this area – particularly that concerned with Canadian literature in English – is that there has been little attempt to document precisely how current institutional practices and curricula are affected by the history of the discipline. To begin to fill this void in our understanding of the contemporary Canadian literary institution, I decided that it was necessary to gather as detailed a body of information as possible about the teaching of the literatures of Canada. It was clear from my 1993 study of the subject entitled "Which Canadian Literature(s) Do You Teach?" that collecting course descriptions can only provide a limited picture of the teaching of the literatures of Canada; such data is a reasonably effective demonstration of *what* gets taught, but fails to address the far more important questions of *why* it gets taught and in what contexts. By travelling to twenty-seven Canadian universities to interview professors, survey students, and collect course descriptions and department calendars, I was able to assess the place of the Canadian literatures in the relevant departments more thoroughly than had I tried to do so from a distance. More importantly, perhaps, my experiences visiting each of these departments allowed me to gain a much

better understanding of the university's role in the Canadian literary institution. The following chapter will outline first how I conducted my research and then will analyze the situation of Canadian literature courses in Canadian university literature departments, the types of courses used to teach this material, and finally the content of these courses. Ultimately, this chapter also lays the groundwork for chapter four which will address in detail the implications of what the instructors told me about the complex set of issues that influence how they construct their curricula and lead them to choose certain texts and authors over others.

I. Methodology

Much like the process of writing a dissertation, a cross-Canada journey through all ten provinces and to twenty-seven universities in just under seven weeks is an enormous undertaking. And, also like a dissertation, one usually plans to accomplish far more than is possible in the allotted time. In an admittedly unscientific manner, I cast my net widely; I interviewed every professor and instructor of Canadian and Québécois literature who would talk to me, gathered course descriptions and department and university calendars, and persuaded many of the people I interviewed to distribute a questionnaire to their students. In a nisus to learn everything I could about the teaching of the literatures of Canada at these particular institutions, I intended my research to set the exact direction for my dissertation and not vice-versa. I had, of course, some definite concerns that I wished to explore and that greatly informed my questions of both professors and students. These included questions of canon formation and perpetuation, cultural nationalism, representation of the diversity

of literary production in Canada, and the effect of course and department structures on each of these processes. While I certainly learned a great deal about all of these topics, I also gained a wealth of knowledge I had not initially anticipated. In the over one hundred hours of interviews I conducted, I gained an appreciation of the history of the discipline, the challenges faced by some of the pioneers of Canadian literary studies, as well as a deeper understanding of the state of the discipline today. Moreover, my experiences also revealed to me that the field is far more complex than I had ever anticipated; each department has its own culture, history, structure, rationale for its overall curriculum, and, most importantly, vision of the literatures of Canada. While I will not directly discuss much of this type of knowledge that I acquired – that would be an all-together different dissertation – it undoubtedly informs all of the interpretations and conclusions I have made from the data I collected.

A. Data Collection

i) Field Work

The first stage of my research trip for this dissertation began on October 5, 1997. Flying to Toronto, I spent until November 8 travelling by train, plane, and automobile from Toronto to St. John's and then back to Edmonton, visiting twenty-one English and French universities in five weeks. From Edmonton, I visited the remaining six in short side trips to Saskatchewan, Calgary, and British Columbia and wrapped up the last of my interviews with professors at the University of Alberta in the spring of 1998. My decision to visit so many universities and every province in the country in such a relatively short period of time necessarily imposed a certain number of parameters on my research. First,

to get a sense of the broad scope of university-level courses on the literatures of Canada and how this is affected by issues of region, language, and the size of individual departments and universities, I elected to visit all of the country's major research universities, plus at least one university in each province. This necessitated that I overlook some universities – primarily Ontario and Québec universities such as University of Guelph, Trent University, and Bishop's University – that in terms of department size and number of course offerings might be more significant than smaller institutions like the University of Prince Edward Island or the University of New Brunswick. Second, and more importantly, my plan to study as many universities as possible meant that my time at each institution was very limited. My tight travel schedule, for instance, left me with less than twenty-four hours in Newfoundland, during which I still managed to conduct eight interviews, the last of which occurred with a professor who kindly drove me to the airport late that afternoon. While I often accomplished a great deal in these short visits to each university, it would have been preferable to have had the time to take a more detailed look at each one.

My field work, as I had initially envisioned it, would involve a detailed examination of all the courses in the literatures of Canada taught during the fall term, as that would be the time during which I would be conducting my research trip. It very quickly became apparent to me that while this approach would, as I had intended, allow me to get an excellent sense of the factors affecting *how* the literature was being taught in that both professors and students would be actively engaged in the process at the time I interviewed and surveyed them, I would be unable to get a sense of the overall place of the literatures of Canada in each department. By incorporating courses taught in the second term, I would

get a much better understanding of the department through the courses offered over a single academic year. One difficulty that I encountered in this respect, though, was that although I collected as many course descriptions and department calendars as I could during the course of my department visits, professors frequently had not yet finalized the text lists for those courses to be offered in the second term. As a result, it was necessary for me to send follow-up requests for information by mail and e-mail in order to collect as much of this missing course data as possible. In the end, I collected data pertaining to 207 courses on the literatures of Canada taught during the 1997-98 academic year.

It is important to remember when considering the teaching of the literatures of Canada, that each university has more than one department offering courses of this type on a regular basis. The most frequent examples of this are departments or programs offering courses based around the study of languages other than their university's primary language of instruction. While this mostly applies to English language and literature programs at French-language universities and programs in French language and literature at English-language universities, it can also be expected that, for instance, programs in German, Russian, or Chinese, might in fact feature – if not in dedicated courses on immigrant literature in Canada then as part of more general literature or language courses – Canadian literature written originally in those languages. In any case, I have chosen in this study to focus only on departments whose main function is the teaching of literature. While I chose to do so partly to impose limits on the number of interviews I would conduct and departments I would visit, I based my decision primarily on the fact that there is always at least an implicit sense that the study of literature in another language in conjunction with

the study of that language serves in part to educate the student about the culture of that nation or language group. While, obviously, I will be making the case that literature departments play precisely this same role, part of their "distinction," to employ Bourdieu's use of the term, derives from their apparent uninterest and denial of filling this function.

It must also be noted here, though, that the already mentioned differences between the post-secondary education systems in Québec and those in the rest of Canada, make it nearly impossible for me to examine the French-language universities in Québec in precisely the same way that I do Canada's English-language universities. The most crucial difference, as I discuss in chapter one, is the role played by the CÉGEP system, which offers courses in Québécois literature that can most closely be compared to the general survey courses in Canadian literature offered at nearly every English-Canadian university. Interestingly, as Max Roy's major study on the subject reveals, the place at the CÉGEP level of the teaching of literature, and Québécois literature in particular, has been highly politicized and the subject of considerable public debate. Any study, which would truly attempt to take this level of education into account, would need to operate on a broader scale, for there are far more CÉGEPs than universities and these are spread throughout the province.

Ultimately, the research plan I had set out for myself proved, in a number of important ways, to be unworkable in Québec. There was such a number and variety of courses, so many faculty-members working at least partially in Québécois literature, and such an array of research institutes or research groups in the field such as the Centre de recherche en littérature québécoises (CRELIQ), that I would have needed to spend, at the very least, another three weeks there

analysing curricula and course structures to provide an adequate study, at least on the micro level, of *how* Québécois literature is taught there and which factors affect that process. With no funding to return at a later date and a limited time in Québec City and Montréal, then, I elected to focus my energies on interviewing as many of the key scholars in the field as I could and in looking more generally at the course and department structures themselves, approaching the latter less as a subject of detailed study than as an important point of comparison with their counterparts in English Canada. What I found in so doing, as I will discuss in detail later, is that while there are some key similarities between French-language and English-language universities in Canada in terms of the study of our national literatures, the most dramatic differences help to reveal just how arbitrary the English course and department structures really are.

ii) Interviews

Over the course of my travels, I managed to interview 94 professors and instructors of courses on the literatures of Canada. Naturally, this number was not split evenly between the various universities; at some institutions, there were only one or two people teaching Canadian literature, while at others there were easily more than a half dozen. Although, as already discussed, I had initially planned to interview only those instructors teaching Canadian literature courses in the first term of the 1997-98 academic year, I quickly abandoned this approach when I realized I would be missing the opportunity to speak with a number of important people in the field whose ideas and experiences would likely be of great interest to me in this research. Subjects to whom I spoke who would have otherwise been excluded from my research included Malcolm Ross, Clara

Thomas, Roy Miki, Stan Dragland, W.H. New, Denis Saint-Jacques, and E.D. Blodgett. Interviews were arranged as much in advance as possible – though the difficulty of reaching some subjects in advance caused me to conduct some interviews with little prior warning to the subject – and all were recorded on cassette tape. Given the potentially sensitive nature of some aspects of my topic, I requested and received permission from each subject to record and utilize our conversations in my research and the final dissertation. In addition, each subject was guaranteed complete anonymity should he or she request it.

Like my approach to the research trip overall, the interviews I conducted were exploratory in nature. Even though with nearly every subject I utilised a set series of questions that dealt with the various factors that affect their particular approaches to teaching Canadian literature, I deliberately avoided checking any tendencies among the subjects to digress from the topic at hand. This open-ended approach to my interviews led many of the subjects to provide me with what is essentially an oral history of their involvement and experiences in the field. The somewhat surprising enthusiasm with which nearly everyone I interviewed spoke about themselves, their teaching, and the field in general points, at least in part, to a perceived lack of opportunity for members of the field to discuss these issues amongst themselves in any detail. More important to the final shape of my research, though, is how this open approach to the interviews brought to my attention many other significant factors that influence the teaching of the literatures of Canada that I might not otherwise have discovered had I stuck solely to my initial array of questions.

iii) Student Surveys

One of the aspects of the teaching of Canadian literature that I had hoped to investigate in my research was how student responses to the subject were affected by the type of course they were taking, the books covered, and the overall approach to the material as chosen by the instructor. What I was especially interested in was the degree to which students understood Canadian literature to be somehow reflective or representative of Canadian identity. To do so with any scientifically sound approach would have required a thoroughly developed survey that would cover everything from each subject's age, gender, academic and socio-economic background to their understanding of Canada and Canadian history and culture. Furthermore, it would have also been desirable to administer the survey in precisely the same manner at each institution at a similar moment in each course. To develop and complete such a project on a national level was far more than I would have been able to accomplish on my own.

While an accurate and soundly-administered survey is an aspect of this project on which I hope to follow through in the future, I decided nevertheless to distribute an anonymous survey that professors would distribute to their students. In some cases, professors refused to use class-time to administer the surveys and had the students take them home and then return them, something very few of the students chose to do. Other professors simply refused to hand them out because it would take away from class-time. It quickly became apparent to me that the survey would only offer up anecdotal evidence about the connection between what students were taught and what they believed about Canadian literature and the course they were taking. After all, students in full-

year courses could hardly be expected to pass judgment after only having been in the class for six weeks or so. Although the overall results from the survey would likely be of some interest, if only serving to point out the potential for a more detailed and carefully administered survey to reveal a great deal about what students actually learn about Canadian literature from their course, I decided the flaws far outweighed any value the surveys might have and chose to ignore them for now.

B. Data Processing

From my research trip and my follow-up requests to departments and instructors for further information, I accumulated a half dozen boxes of data which can be divided into several primary types: interview tapes; course descriptions and syllabi; department and university calendars; and student surveys. In order to facilitate the analysis of this data, I used the software program Filemaker Pro 5 to create relational databases for each of these first three categories.[14] Because the student surveys were so numerous and of such a wide variety in the level of response, I decided against establishing a separate database for them and, ultimately, as explained above, chose to perform on them no type of quantitative or qualitative analysis. Instead, as I will explain in detail later, I elected not to perform on them any type of quantitative analysis.

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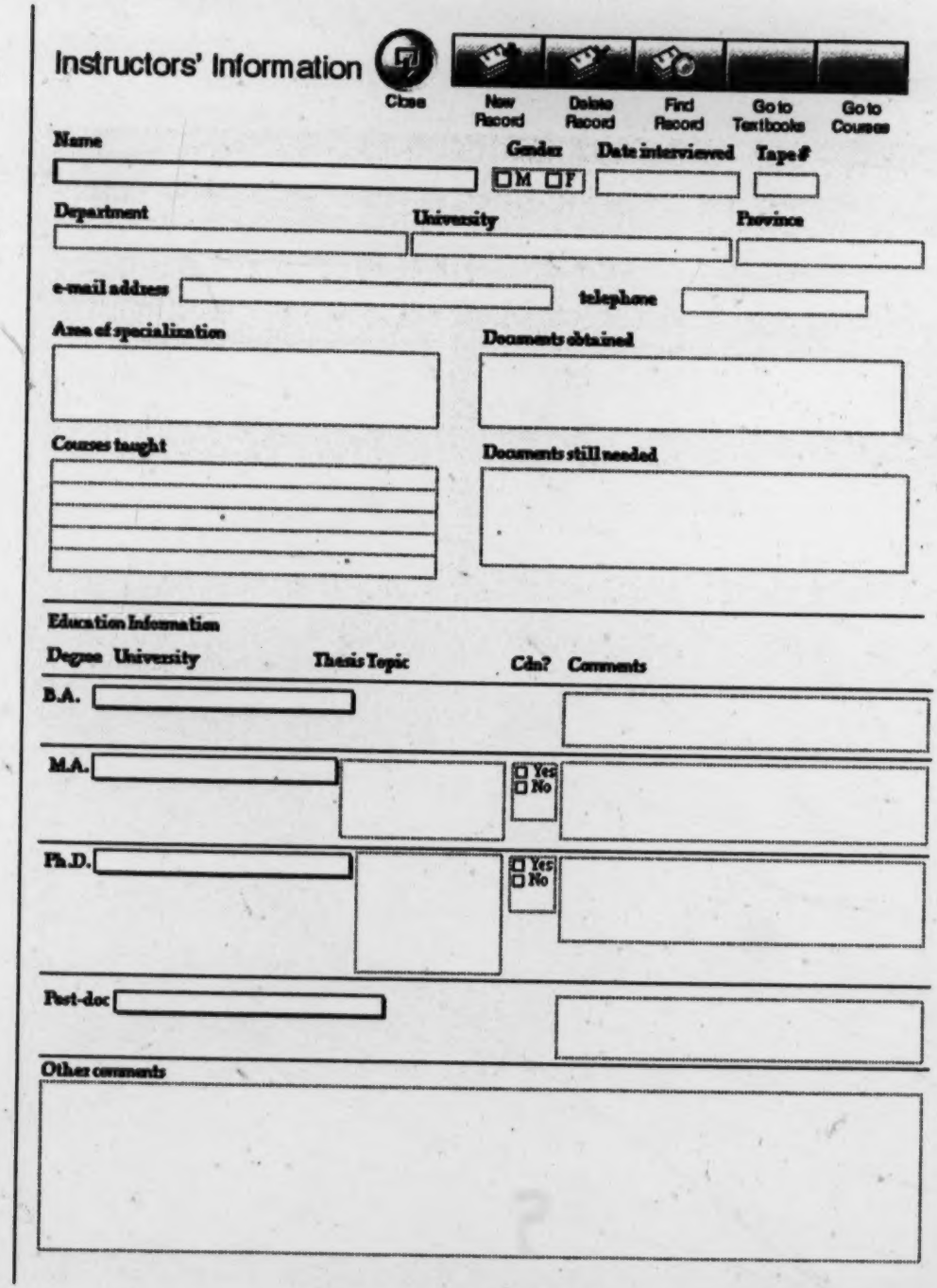
[14] I was helped tremendously in this process by Lu Ziola who created the first three databases, which I then proceeded to expand and adjust as necessary.

i) Interview tapes

Because I had over one hundred hours of interview tapes in both French and English, I recognized that it would be more useful to listen to the tapes and to extract all the most important information and quotations than it would be to transcribe each tape in its entirety, a project I would still like to complete eventually. To do so, I set up a database, "Instructors," that included for each subject some limited biographical information, a list of the courses they were teaching, and spaces in which I could enter their responses to each of the set questions I asked in my interviews (see Figure 2). By organizing the database in this fashion, I would easily be able to compare the responses of different instructors to questions, for instance, relating to the place of Native literature in their courses. The ability with Filemaker Pro to perform searches or to sort records according to the data in any of the database fields meant that I could also compare the answers of all the subjects who, for example, were male or who received their PhDs at a particular institution. Aside from creating one of these records for every instructor I interviewed, I also created records for those instructors to whom I did not have the opportunity to speak but who were teaching Canadian literature courses in 1997-98 at any of the universities included in my study. In this way, I was able to link as much as possible the records of the courses taught that year with even some limited information about the people who taught them.

Figure 2: Sample Data Entry Page from "Instructors" Database



Factors affecting your choice of texts:	Comments
Availability ☐ Yes ☐ No	
Price ☐ Yes ☐ No	
Department Guidelines ☐ Yes ☐ No	
Personal preference ☐ Yes ☐ No	
Student preference ☐ Yes ☐ No	
Past experience ☐ Yes ☐ No	
Teachability ☐ Yes ☐ No	
Regional coverage ☐ Yes ☐ No	
Author's ethnic/ cultural group ☐ Yes ☐ No	
Text's language of origin ☐ Yes ☐ No	
Publisher or edition ☐ Yes ☐ No	
Era/date published ☐ Yes ☐ No	
Canonicity of author ☐ Yes ☐ No	
Canonicity of text ☐ Yes ☐ No	
Content ☐ Yes ☐ No	
Genre factor ☐ Yes ☐ No	
Literary style ☐ Yes ☐ No	

Have your past experiences (personal, academic, or professional) influenced this process? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Instructor's comments

Paul's comments

Does region have any affect on the syllabus? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Instructor's comments

Paul's comments

Do you feel the need to represent various cultural, ethnic, or language groups in your syllabus? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Instructor's comments

Paul's comments

Do you include Native literature in your courses? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Instructor's comments

Paul's comments

Do you include literature translated from French in your courses? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Instructor's comments

Paul's comments

Did your own experiences as a student affect how you teach Canadian literature? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Instructor's comments

Paul's comments

Do you think it's possible to develop within your students a sense of Canada through the teaching of Canadian literature? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Instructor's comments

Paul's comments

Do you structure your course in such a way as to facilitate this? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Instructor's comments

Paul's comments

Any advice or suggestions for me in my research? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Instructor's comments

Paul's comments

Overall impressions

Ranking

Professor filling multiple roles in literary institution ☐ Yes ☐ No

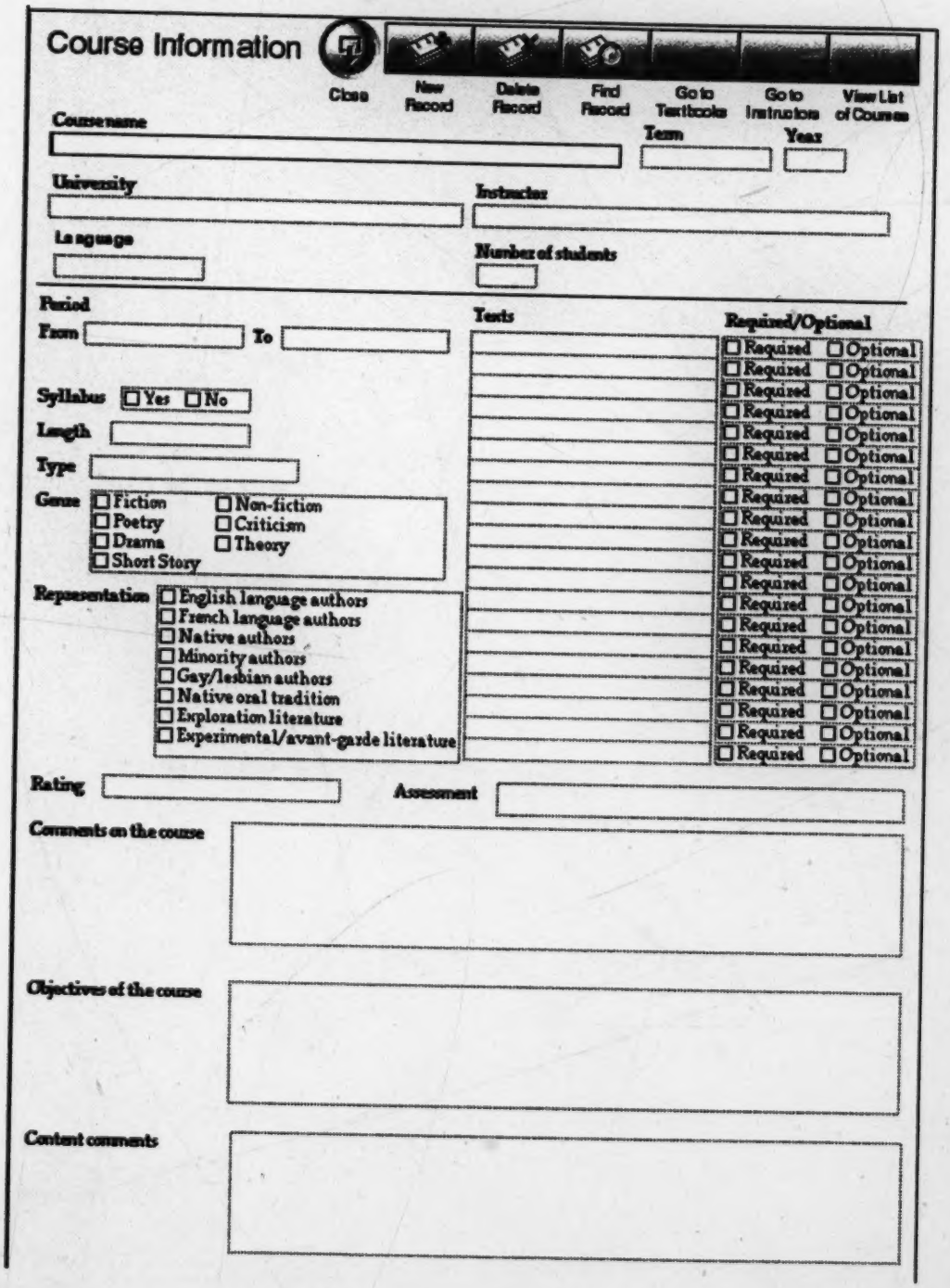
Comments

Next actions

ii) Course descriptions and syllabi

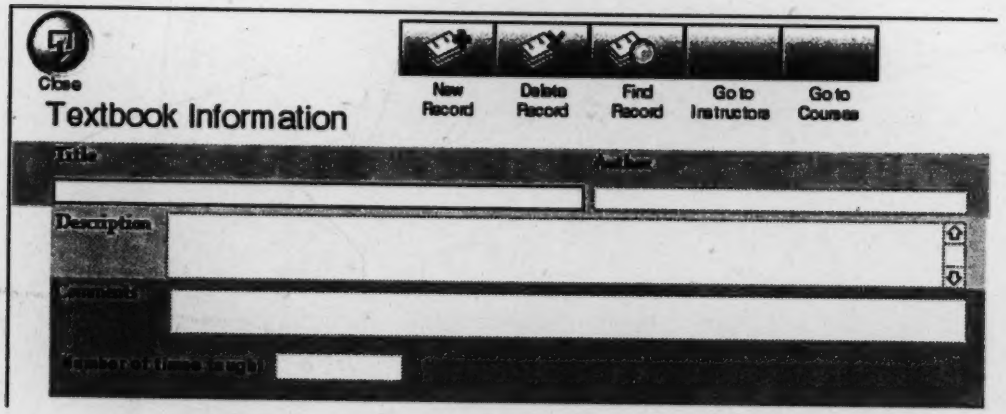
To get a good sense of not only the diversity of the structures of Canadian literature courses taught by these instructors, but also of the texts and types of texts taught in them, Lu Ziola and I designed a database, "Courses," that listed for each course the instructor's name, the books required for each course, the type of course it was, and, when possible, the number of students enrolled (see Figure 3). I also allowed space to record my observations about each course's content and objectives. Again, some of these records are more complete than others. Of the 207 course sections offered in 1997-98 in the twenty-eight departments I visited, there were 132 for which I was able to obtain complete syllabi. For each of the 75 remaining course sections, I was still often able to determine the type of course, what types of texts would have been included, and, in many cases, a full or partial list of the texts on the course syllabus.

Figure 3: Sample Data Entry Page from "Courses" Database



In order to document and analyze the variety of texts taught across the country and the frequency of their inclusion in Canadian literature courses, it was necessary to create a separate database of texts taught ("Texts"), to which the text fields in the "Courses" database would be linked (see Figure 4). In this way, I was able to create a master list of texts that had been taught in courses on Canadian literature in the 1997-98 academic year. Because of the limited information I was able to obtain about the specifics of many Québécois literature courses offered that year at French-language universities, I elected to include only English texts in this database. Thus, some of the analysis I am able to do later in this thesis with regard to which texts and authors are taught is limited to data from English and Comparative literature courses on the subject.

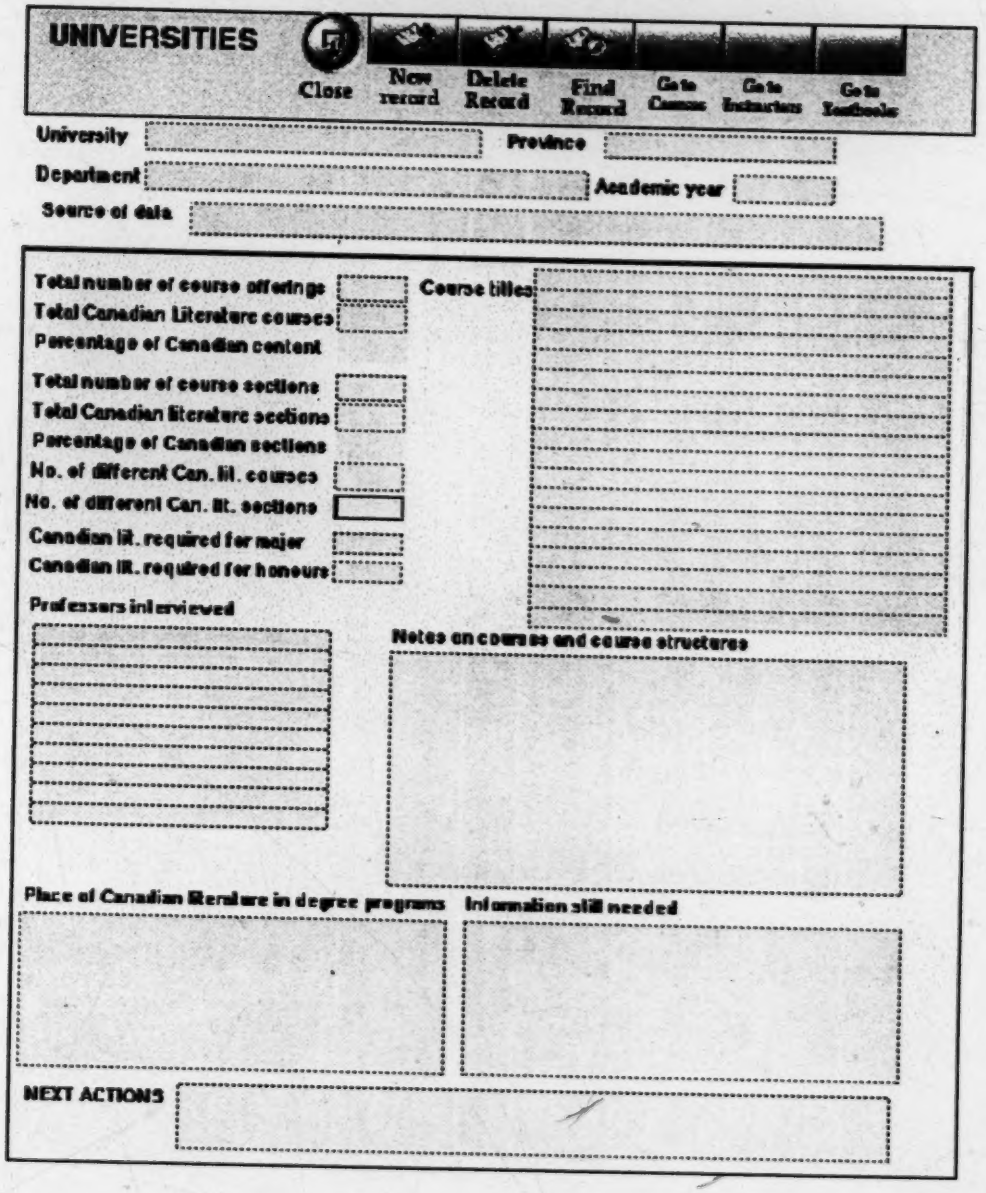
Figure 4: Sample Data Entry Page from "Texts" Database



iii) Department and University calendars

I created the fourth and final database, "Universities," when it became clear that there needed to be some way to get an overall sense of department structures and the place of Canadian literature within them. For each university, then, I set up a record detailing the name of the department I visited, the instructors I spoke to there, the names and numbers of the Canadian literature courses taught that year, the number of courses taught in that department and the number of which were devoted to Canadian literature, and finally whether or not a Canadian literature course was a requirement for the English major degree and, if there was one, for the Honours degree in English (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Sample Data Entry Page from "Universities" Database



II. Analysis

A. Universities and departments

As I have already discussed, the wide variation between the post-secondary education systems in Québec and English Canada make it difficult to examine simultaneously the functions of literature departments in English-language and French-language universities. When I commenced my research for this project, however, I assumed otherwise. My trip to Québec and the interviews I conducted with professors at the four French-language universities I visited there were a revelation to me, for they revealed the true arbitrariness of the structures of literature departments at English-language universities. Not only does Québécois literature have a greater place in the literature departments of the French universities, there is also a much wider variety of courses on the subject than any English department has in Canadian literature. Why is this? While one might try to argue that the English-speaking world is larger and has produced a greater amount of literature than the French, the traditions are comparable in their richness. Moreover, both disciplines are expanding in similar ways; for instance, while post-colonial literature courses are one of the greatest areas of current growth in departments of English literature, there are also a growing number of courses at French-language universities on the literatures of the Francophonie. Nevertheless, the literature of Québec still retains a more prominent role in the literature departments of Canada's French-language universities. The reasons for this, as we have seen, are as much tied to the history of the study of the Canadian literatures in Canadian universities as they are to

any current valuation of the literatures themselves. What seems clear, however, is that the "projet national" of fostering the growth and, more importantly, the understanding of a national literature has ultimately been of greater import in Québec than in the rest of Canada. In English universities, the place of Canadian literature in English departments has not markedly improved since the 1970s. While there is today, undoubtedly, a presence of Canadian content in introductory or genre-based English courses where there may have been none before, the number and variety of Canadian literature courses has remained nearly the same since its period of rapid growth in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In fact, over the last decade, the number of Canadian literature courses has declined at several universities. What is even more troubling is how little variety there is in the types of Canadian literature courses offered, a predicament caused primarily by the reluctance of many departments to depart in any way from the model of the all-inclusive survey course they have relied on since introducing their first courses on Canadian literature.

The rest of this section attempts to offer a brief summary of what I was able to determine about the place of the literatures of Canada in each of the universities I visited. As I have already explained, my focus here has been on departments where language acquisition is not one of the primary or secondary goals in any of the literature courses they offer. For each of the departments I address here, I have indicated, whenever possible, the number of courses and course sections and the percentage of these devoted to Canadian literature. In some cases, I have had the necessary information to determine this percentage in terms of full-course-equivalents, a more precise means of examining the relative position of Canadian literature courses within the curriculum than in cases where the course

listings I obtained did not distinguish between full-year and half-year courses. In other cases, I have been hampered by a lack of precise information – my figures for Memorial University, for instance, are comprised solely of courses offered in the Fall term as they have been unable to provide me with data for the Winter term. Nevertheless, the data that follows offers the best possible snapshot of the place of courses on the literatures of Canada at nearly every one of the universities I visited on my research trip. Before revealing the data broken down by university and province, it will be helpful to look first at what we can learn from the data as a whole. (See Appendix 1 for a complete list of each university, their relevant course offerings, and a list of instructors interviewed)

One of the most obvious indicators of the importance given to the teaching of the literatures of Canada at these universities is the percentage of offered courses devoted to the subject. While I have broken down the data to the numbers of courses, course sections, and Canadian content percentages for each university, one can learn a great deal from a list of the universities ranked according to first the percentage of courses devoted to the literatures of Canada, then the percentage of course sections on the subject, and finally the number of different courses offered on the subject. For instance, as one can see in Figure 6, when ranked by the percentage of a department's courses devoted to any of the literatures of Canada, francophone universities fill the top three positions and comprise four of the top six departments. What is equally striking is that some of the country's oldest and most prestigious departments of English fare poorly in these standings, with the University of Toronto (10.45%), the University of British Columbia (9.89%), and Queen's University (5.13%) occupying sixteenth, eighteenth, and twenty-fourth position respectively. Indeed, in the top five

positions, there is only one department of English, that of McGill University (22.22%) in fourth position, with fifth spot being occupied by the University of Alberta's Comparative Literature program in what was at that time the Department of Modern Languages and Comparative Studies (now the Department of Comparative Literature, Religion, and Film/Media Studies).

Figure 6: Universities ranked by percentage of courses offered on the literatures of Canada (1997/98)[15]

University	Department	Cdn. Courses
Université de Moncton	Département d'études françaises	38.89%
Université de Montréal	Département d'études françaises	25.00%
Université Laval	Département de littératures	22.86%
McGill University	Department of English	22.22%
University of Alberta	Dept. of Mod. Languages and Comparative Studies	19.05%
Université du Québec à Montréal	Département d'études littéraires	18.42%
University of Manitoba	Department of English	18.42%
Carleton University	Dept. of English Language and Lit.	15.79%
University of Victoria	Department of English	15.07%
Memorial University	Dept. of English Language and Lit.	14.71%
University of Winnipeg	Department of English	13.33%
University of Western Ontario	Department of English	12.50%
University of Saskatchewan	Department of English	12.50%
York University	Department of English	12.20%
University of Alberta	Department of English	10.78%
University of Toronto	Department of English	10.45%
University of Ottawa	Department of English	10.42%
University of British Columbia	Department of English	9.89%
McMaster University	Department of English	9.26%
Acadia University	Department of English	9.09%
Simon Fraser University	Department of English	8.90%
University of Calgary	Department of English	8.16%
Concordia University	Department of English	8.11%
Dalhousie University	Department of English	7.69%
Queen's University	Dept. of English Language and Literature	5.13%
University of Prince Edward Island	Department of English	4.88%
University of New Brunswick - Fredericton	Department of English	2.86%

[15] The University of Sherbrooke is omitted from this list, as I looked primarily at its graduate programs in Comparative Canadian literature and did not collect statistics on its undergraduate programs in French literature.

Of course, because the way I have calculated the above figures counts each multi-section course as only one course offering, universities that offer a smaller variety of courses but teach several sections of those courses sometime do not fare as well as when one considers the percentage of total course sections devoted to the literatures of Canada. As one can see in Figure 7, the rankings of some departments change significantly when one takes into account the number of sections offered. The University of Saskatchewan, for instance, shifts from fourteenth to ninth spot, while the position of the University of Ottawa's Department of English changes dramatically, moving from seventeenth to seventh place. On the other hand, although the University of British Columbia and the University of Toronto both rely quite heavily on multiple sections of their survey courses on Canadian literature, they offer multiple sections of other non-Canadian literature courses as well. Thus, when ranked by percentage of sections rather than by the percentage of courses, the University of British Columbia only moves from eighteenth to fifteenth place, while the University of Toronto actually drops three spots to twentieth position.

Figure 7: Universities ranked by percentage of course sections offered on the literatures of Canada (1997/98)16

University	Department	Cdn. Sections
Université de Moncton	Département d'études françaises	38.89%
Université de Montréal	Département d'études françaises	25.00%
Université Laval	Département de littératures	22.86%
McGill University	Department of English	20.00%
Université du Québec à Montréal	Département d'études littéraires	18.42%
University of Alberta	Dept. of Modern Languages and Comparative Studies	16.00%
University of Ottawa	Department of English	15.38%
Carleton University	Dept. of English Language and Lit.	14.06%
University of Saskatchewan	Department of English	13.95%
University of Winnipeg	Department of English	12.77%
Memorial University	Dept. of English Language and Lit.	11.90%
McMaster University	Department of English	11.11%
York University	Department of English	10.70%
University of Victoria	Department of English	10.19%
University of British Columbia	Department of English	9.45%
University of Manitoba	Department of English	8.60%
Acadia University	Department of English	8.33%
Simon Fraser University	Department of English	8.25%
Dalhousie University	Department of English	7.69%
University of Toronto	Department of English	7.03%
Concordia University	Department of English	6.70%
University of Calgary	Department of English	5.56%
Queen's University	Dept. of English Language and Lit.	5.36%

Department rankings of this kind also shift significantly when one takes into account simply the raw number of courses offered on the literatures of Canada. While such figures give no real indication of the relative weight given to the study of the national literatures in these departments, they do give some understanding as to the quantity and variety of courses available to students. As

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[16] The Departments of English at the University of Alberta, the University of New Brunswick in Fredericton, the University of Prince Edward Island, and the University of Western Ontario are excluded from these rankings as these institutions were unable to provide me with an accurate

one might expect, the larger literature departments fare better in these standings than do those of much smaller universities like the University of Prince Edward Island or Acadia University. As one can see in Figure 8, when one looks at the number of different courses offered in a department (a figure which does not include different sections of the same course), the larger French-language institutions retain their dominant positions for the most part. Institutions with large English departments such as the University of Victoria, York University, and the University of Western Ontario, find themselves substantially higher in the rankings than when one considers the percentage of course offerings in the literatures of Canada.

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number of the total course sections for the 1997/98 academic year. The figures for Memorial University only include those courses offered in the Fall term.

Figure 8: Universities by number of different courses offered on the literatures of Canada (1997/98)

University	Department	Different Cdn. lit courses
Université du Québec à Montréal	Département d'études littéraires	14
Université de Montréal	Département d'études françaises	12
University of Victoria	Department of English	9
York University	Department of English	9
University of Alberta	Department of English	9
Université Laval	Département de littératures	8
McGill University	Department of English	8
University of Western Ontario	Department of English	8
University of Toronto	Department of English	8
University of British Columbia	Department of English	8
Université de Moncton	Département d'études françaises	7
Carleton University	Dept. of English Language and Lit.	6
University of Manitoba	Department of English	5
Memorial University	Dept. of English Language and Lit.	5
University of Saskatchewan	Department of English	5
University of Ottawa	Department of English	5
McMaster University	Department of English	5
Concordia University	Department of English	5
Simon Fraser University	Department of English	5
University of Alberta	Dept. of Mod. Languages and Comparative Studies	4
University of Winnipeg	Department of English	4
University of Calgary	Department of English	4
Acadia University	Department of English	3
Dalhousie University	Department of English	2
Queen's University	Dept. of English Language and Lit.	2
University of Prince Edward Island	Department of English	2
University of New Brunswick - Fredericton	Department of English	1

When one considers the raw number of course sections devoted to the literatures of Canada, the shift in results becomes even more dramatic (see Figure 9). The countries largest universities move to the top of the rankings, led by the University of British Columbia which offered nineteen sections of courses in

Canadian literature in 1997/98. Equally striking is the fact that while French language universities such as the Université du Québec à Montréal and the Université de Montréal maintain their positions quite well, the Université Laval drops to fourteenth place and the Université de Moncton to sixteenth. Again, these results are somewhat flawed because they do not take into account whether these courses are half-year or full-year courses – though it should be noted that the vast majority of Canadian literature courses I examined were only half-year courses. What these figures do provide, however, is a sense of the variety of course offerings available to students at larger universities, as even when there are multiple sections taught of what is ostensibly the same course, students are able to make their enrollment choices based upon which instructor is teaching the course and which books are being taught. Naturally, such options are not available to students taking courses in much smaller literature departments.

Figure 9: Universities ranked by number of course sections offered on the literatures of Canada (1997/98)

University	Department	Cdn. lit. sections
University of British Columbia	Department of English	18
Université du Québec à Montréal	Département d'études littéraires	14
University of Toronto	Department of English	12
University of Alberta	Department of English	12
Université de Montréal	Département d'études françaises	12
University of Western Ontario	Department of English	11
University of Ottawa	Department of English	10
York University	Department of English	9
Carleton University	Dept. of English Language and Lit.	9
Concordia University	Department of English	9
University of Victoria	Department of English	9
McGill University	Department of English	8
Simon Fraser University	Department of English	8
Université Laval	Département de littératures	8
McMaster University	Department of English	7
Université de Moncton	Département d'études françaises	7
University of Saskatchewan	Department of English	6
University of Manitoba	Department of English	6
Memorial University	Dept. of English Language and Lit.	5
University of Winnipeg	Department of English	4
University of Calgary	Department of English	4
University of Alberta	Dept. of Mod. Languages and Comparative Studies	4
Queen's University	Dept. of English Language and Lit.	3
Acadia University	Department of English	3
University of Prince Edward Island	Department of English	2
Dalhousie University	Department of English	2
University of New Brunswick – Fredericton	Department of English	1

It is important to remember that these rankings are only applicable to the 1997-98 academic year. The fortunes of a number of departments depicted in this data are partly a reflection of their staffing situations in that particular year. For instance, McGill University's excellent ranking – they are the highest English language university on the list in terms of the percentage of Canadian literature courses and sections offered – is due in great part to the three courses taught in the department that year by Roxanne Rimstead, whose limited-term position was funded by the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada. Conversely, while the University of New Brunswick in Fredericton has a long history of teaching and scholarship in Canadian literature and several faculty members at the time who specialized in the subject, sabbaticals, retirements, and administrative leave meant that there was only one Canadian literature course that year and it was taught by a recently retired professor from another university who had never taught the subject before.

Statistics such as these are sometimes also unable to provide the full context for the place of Canadian literature in a given department. While these figures portray quite well the tendency of some departments to place less emphasis on Canadian literature than they might, the departments to which this research does not do complete justice are, generally speaking, those that already fare quite well in the above rankings. An excellent example of this, and perhaps the most fascinating department I visited, is the Département d'études littéraires at the Université du Québec à Montréal. As a department that is not oriented around any single national literature or language, the Département d'études littéraires offers many courses focused on questions of genre or theory in which Québécois literature still tends to play a prominent role. What is even more fascinating

about the high percentage of courses on Québécois literature primarily (18.2%) is that if one were to subtract all the literature courses taught in that department that do not focus on literature from a particular linguistic, cultural, or national formation, that percentage would be far greater. There were, to be exact, seventy-six courses in total, of which fourteen focused on Québécois or Canadian literature. However, only twenty-seven of the total number of courses were based on a national literature, with eleven focusing on the literature of France. Thus, one could actually consider the "Canadian" content in that department to fill 52% of the literature courses not based solely around questions of genre, theory, or theme.

Another university worth mentioning for its attention to Canadian literature is the University of Victoria. While their English department's overall percentage of courses and sections devoted to Canadian literature is good, its offering of nine different courses on Canadian literature in 1997/98 is greater than the number of courses offered at nearly every other English language university, with the exception of York University and the University of Alberta's Department of English, each of which also offered nine unique courses that year. What is most interesting about the University of Victoria, however, is that they offer undergraduates the ability to do a combined major in English and French focused on Canadian literature. After taking a number of courses in both languages, the students have to take in their third or fourth year an upper level course (English 458/French 487) that introduces them to the comparative study of Canadian literature. Founded in 1988 and under the direction of Professor Marie Vautier since 1989, the Canadian literature major is, remarkably, the only one of its kind in the world. Such a program can only be offered, however, when

there are a wide variety of courses on the literatures of Canada to take from both the departments of French and English. Even at the University of Victoria, however, students sometimes have difficulty fulfilling the program's requirements due to a lack of courses in French-Canadian or Québécois literature in a given year caused by faculty leave of various forms. This causes some students to leave the program, which otherwise is highly successful and very much appreciated by the students.

The course availability problems encountered in the University of Victoria's Canadian Literature program points to another key factor in determining the place of the literatures of Canada in any department in a given year: the interests, experience, and availability of faculty. At the University of Victoria, for instance, it is unlikely the program would have remained in place without the continued presence and perseverance of Marie Vautier, a specialist in Comparative Canadian Literature teaching in the French Department. As we have already seen in the case of the University of New Brunswick, factors such as retirements, sick leave, maternity leave, or administrative appointments can have a tremendous effect on the course offerings of smaller universities where there may only be one or two faculty qualified and/or willing to teach Canadian literature. Similarly, other large departments such as the University of British Columbia's Department of English or the Université de Montréal's Département de Français have a large number of faculty capable of teaching in these areas and this gives them far more flexibility in offering a variety of courses on the literatures of Canada. Even more important, of course, is how the research and teaching interests and experience of these faculty can help to shape the current and future Canadian literature curriculum in a department. Again, without

someone like Marie Vautier at the University of Victoria or E.D. Blodgett in the University of Alberta's Department of Modern Languages and Comparative Studies (now the Department of Comparative Literature, Religion, and Film/Media Studies) it is unlikely that there would be any courses on Comparative Canadian literature in either of these departments. For the University of Victoria, of course, this would most likely mean the complete collapse of the country's only undergraduate major in Canadian Literature.

At nearly every other university I visited, students are unable to receive a degree so highly focused on the any or all of the literatures of Canada – the Université de Montréal, the Université Laval, and, to a certain degree, the Université du Québec à Montréal being the only exceptions. When students pursuing an English or French major, specialisation, or honours degree are required to take a majority of their courses in the subjects of French, British, or American literature, they are never left with much opportunity to take a great many courses on the literatures of Canada. Thus, department structures and the program requirements or curricula those departments devise, have an immeasurably strong effect on the amount and type of literary knowledge that they produce in their students. To reiterate Max Roy's observation that I quoted in chapter two, the positioning of one's own national literature(s) in a distinctly minority role in the overall literature course offerings "implique inéviablement un jugement de valeur" (Littérature québécoise 103). Moreover, once such a precedent is set, this limited number of courses will never grow on its own, nor will this implied valuation of the literatures of Canada likely ever change dramatically. As Bourdieu argues, of course, the fundamental aim of any institution – and the average university literature department serves as a prime

example of this very process – is to reproduce itself. In this case, then, so long as literature departments continue to produce students with a limited amount of knowledge about the literatures and literary histories of Canada, there will be no need for expanded and more focused course offerings. This is clearly illustrated by the situation of the French-language universities mentioned already in this respect. By choosing relatively early on to devote a significant number of courses and a major amount of research funding to the study of Québécois literature, these universities are able to offer courses on highly specific aspects of the subject – in 1997-98, for instance, the Université Laval offered an undergraduate course on the twentieth-century Québécois song. This, in turn, generates a significant amount of research and publishing in the field which combine with teaching to produce a greater amount and depth of literary knowledge than if the departments were to teach a very limited number or variety of courses.

Again, for a rich and diverse body of knowledge to be produced, there need to be an adequate number and wide variety of courses available to students. My look at courses across the country revealed a great deal about how different departments appear to envision the study of the literatures of Canada. Already cited in the second chapter of this dissertation, Joseph Melançon's comments about how universities somewhat arbitrarily separate the study of knowledge into the various disciplines and domains of faculties, departments, and programs – what he calls "un fractionnement des savoirs, des disciplines et des compétences" – are equally applicable to understanding the significance of the ways in which Canadian universities choose to structure their courses on the literatures of Canada ("Conjoncture" 67). "[Le] principe de 'division,'" he reminds us, "est également un principe de 'vision'" (67). What this means, of course, is

that the way a university decides to divide or structure the way in which the student is able to study a subject such as the literatures of Canada inevitably reveals a certain "vision" of that subject. We have already discussed several departments that offer a distinct vision of the importance of the literatures of Canada. Simply allowing students to specialize in that field, for instance, says a great deal about the importance placed by the Université de Montréal, Université Laval, and the University of Victoria on the literary production and history of Canada. We can also learn a great deal simply by examining the types of courses on the literatures of Canada offered at other universities.

B. Courses

While the number of courses offered has a tremendous effect on the shape of students' understanding of the literatures of Canada, the types and structures of those courses are even more influential in this regard. When deciding how best to assess the great number of courses I was cataloging, then, I realized it would be essential to assess the types of courses as much as the texts that were taught. To do so, I divided the possible configurations of any literature course into six categories: courses structured around a historical period; courses focusing on a single genre of writing; courses that deal solely with the oeuvre of a particular author; "special topics" courses where the content is always variable and thus changes dramatically from year to year; courses offered regularly that address the writing done by people of a particular region; and, finally, "survey" courses that cover a variety of genres, eras, and movements in order to present a larger picture of a fairly substantial span of literary history. The survey courses, as we will see, are the most frequently offered type of course on the literatures of

Canada and therefore have a tremendous influence on the types of texts and authors who are studied. Though I did not collect any precise data on enrolment figures, it was also clear from my interviews that the survey courses are frequently designed for classes with a greater number of students than the typical special topics or author-centred course.

From the course offerings of the French and English language universities I visited, I collected data pertaining to 207 Canadian or Québécois literature course sections offered in the 1997-98 year. Of these, a mere eighteen were structured mainly around a particular era. More surprising, perhaps, is that there were only five courses (2.4% of the total number of course sections) that were devoted to early Canadian literature. The vast majority of courses structured around period were fiction courses such as the University of Manitoba's English 4.289: Canadian Literature post-1967: "The Postmodern Novel in Canada" or Concordia University's English 372: Contemporary Canadian Fiction. The issue of time periods, especially when they are described with such ambiguous terms as "early" or "contemporary," is that there are varying opinions as to what such terms mean. Some courses on "early" Canadian writing, for instance, focus mainly on texts published in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Conversely, one section of Concordia's course on "Contemporary Canadian Fiction" contained primarily works written in the 1970s, with the most recent work on the course being Joy Kogawa's Obasan (1981).

Of the 59 courses (28.5% of total Canadian literature courses) I determined to be oriented primarily around genre, there were ten courses on drama (4.8%), fifteen courses on poetry (7.2%) with five of these being taught at French-language universities, six on Canadian Children's literature (2.9%), eight on the

short story (3.9%) and fourteen (6.8%) on fiction in general or the novel. Interestingly, only French-language universities offered any genre-oriented courses that focused on other genres. Included in the eight remaining courses of the fifty-three devoted to a specific genre were courses on the Québécois essay at the Université du Québec à Montréal, the Université de Moncton, and Université Laval, the Québécois song at the Université du Québec à Montréal and the Université Laval, courses on Acadian folklore at the Université de Moncton, and on Nineteenth-century literary life in Québec ("La littérature intime au XIXe siècle") at the Université Laval. What this reveals, of course, is that while English departments in English-Canada are starting to look beyond the boundaries of what we traditionally consider to be "Literature," the aforementioned departments in French Canada have been doing so for some time. One only needs to look at the broader list of courses not offered every year at the Université Laval and similar lists at English-language universities to see the difference. While the University of Toronto, for example, does have a course on Canadian poetry in its complete course listings, it is rarely offered because, as one professor there told me, "students just are not interested in poetry. When it's offered almost no one will take it." The Université Laval, on the other hand, has in their overall list of courses two courses on "Poésie et chanson du Québec (XIXe siècle)" and four on the "Poésie et chanson du Québec (XXe siècle)." It appears that the content of these courses varies each year and focuses on special topics (the one poetry course offered in 1997-98, for instance, focused on the poets of the "génération de l'Hexagone"). The significance of there being six courses in poetry and the song listed in the calendar, even if only one or two are offered in a given year, is that over the course of a student's degree he or she

may take several of these without having to worry about not getting credit for taking "the same course" twice, as one would if there was but a single poetry course in the calendar. Again, such a difference is the perfect illustration of how a "principe de 'division' est également un principe de 'vision'" (Melançon 67); it is assumed at the Université Laval, in other words, that a student should be allowed to take more than one course on Québécois poetry.

Even if some universities, whether French or English, rarely offer regular courses on certain periods or genres, nearly every department offers, on a semi-regular basis, senior courses of variable content that focus on what are often referred to in course calendars as "Special Topics." In some cases, these courses are structured around the study of a particular author and in others they offer students the opportunity to examine a particular theme, movement, or theoretical approach in detail. For the 1997-98 academic year, I found a total of seventeen special topics courses (8.2% of all courses) devoted entirely to the work of a single author, more than one third of which were at French-language universities. While many of these courses dealt with canonical authors such as Margaret Laurence (three courses), Robertson Davies (two courses), or Réjean Ducharme (one course), the focus of others were less predictable and included authors like Constance Beresford-Howe (one course), Jane Rule (one course), and Jacques Brault (one course at the Université du Québec à Montréal plus another at the Université de Montréal that looked at Brault and his relation to other poets). The other forty-three courses (20.7%) that I labelled as being focused on special topics included regularly or occasionally offered courses on topics such as Native or First Nations writing (five courses or 2.4% of all courses), Post-Colonial or minority writing in Canada (five courses or 2.4%), or Canadian women writers

(two courses or 1.2%). Other courses focused on more specific topics, often tied directly to the research interests of the professors teaching them. Courses on topics like the Canadian Gothic, Québécois Science-Fiction, French-language Jewish writing in Montreal, and on Orality and Literacy in Canadian Cultural Studies, were among the most interesting of this type.

There was also a small number of regularly-offered courses oriented around questions of region. In the 1997-98 academic year, the University of Alberta, the University of Manitoba, and the University of Saskatchewan each offered a course on Western Canadian writing, with the courses at the latter two institutions being courses offered on a regular, if not annual basis. In that same year, Simon Fraser University offered two sections of their regularly-offered course English 359: The Literature of British Columbia. While there seem to be few, if any, regional Canadian literature courses offered at any of the universities I visited in Ontario and Québec (one professor at a university in Toronto told me there was no such thing as an Ontario or Québec regionalism), there are a number of such courses offered quite regularly at universities located in Eastern Canada. In 1997-98, however, only Memorial University offered a course of this type, "English 3155: Newfoundland Literature." Acadia University and the University of Prince Edward Island offer courses in "Atlantic-Canadian Literature" on a regular basis but were unable to offer them in 1997-98. While one might also think to include in this category the courses offered by the Université de Moncton on Acadian literature and folklore, such courses, like those on Québécois literature, are focused on the literature of a people and culture rather than of a region.

Survey courses, as one might expect, were the most numerous type of course I examined. Of the 207 courses I studied, I concluded that 62 (30%) could be considered survey courses, that is to say they included works from more than one genre and covered a reasonably wide period of Canadian literary history. While the historical, generic, regional, cultural, and linguistic scope of a survey course can differ tremendously between institutions and even at times between faculty members at the same institution, such variations can reveal a great deal about an institution's or an instructor's vision of the literatures of Canada. Many introductory survey courses, such as English 202 at the University of British Columbia or English 252Y at the University of Toronto, cover the entire history of English-Canadian literature over the course of two semesters. With so much material to cover in such a short time, instructors frequently spend little time looking at early English-Canadian literature, in part so they can try to cover the twentieth century in some depth. Moreover, relatively few instructors actually begin such courses with exploration narratives or any reference at all to the Native oral tradition and instead begin their studies of English-Canadian literature with writers such as Susanna Moodie.

Other universities, however, have chosen different approaches, such as making the introductory survey course simply focus on twentieth century Canadian fiction, or dividing the survey course into half-year courses that each cover a different period of Canadian literary history. A few universities, notably the University of Alberta and Memorial University, have tried to create intermediate level courses that break the history of the literatures of Canada down even further to avoid, or at least to compensate for, the inherent problems of the traditional survey course. At the University of Alberta, for instance, while

students can take English 271, a full-year survey entitled "Canadian Literature: Major Writers and Movements" covering the entire history of English-language literature in Canada, they can also choose from two full year courses that divide Canadian literature into that written before and after 1925 or from three half-year courses that focus on Canadian literature before 1925, from 1925-1960, and then from 1960 to the present. Memorial University does something quite similar, except they break the history of Canadian literature into four more period-oriented half courses: English 3152 – Canadian Literature to 1918; English 3153 – Canadian Literature, 1918-1945; English 3157 – Canadian Literature 1945-1970; and English 3158 – Canadian Literature 1970 to the Present. These courses are, however, quite significant exceptions to the typical practices of English departments in Canada.

The question of whether a university relies on multiple sections of a single survey course – though, of course, the decisions made by the instructors of each of these sections can often result in a wide variation of content between them – or offers a wider variety of courses but fewer sections is one which can have a tremendous impact on the production of literary knowledge. The rationale, it would seem, behind having students choosing primarily between multiple sections of a Canadian literature survey course is the same behind the requirement for most Arts students to take a common English course in their first year of study. Such practices aim to produce a relatively standard experience, a more homogenous base of knowledge than if there were a huge variety of courses from which students could choose with no restrictions. Indeed, many of the universities that rely heavily on these multi-section courses do take steps to normalize the student experience. While some universities set generic

descriptions of the courses in their calendars that outline the types of works and authors that one should find in the individual course sections, other universities take these guidelines a step further. The University of Toronto and the University of Western Ontario, for instance, regulate some of the content that will be chosen by instructors of these multi-section courses. Specifically, they outline how many books will be taught and mandate that a certain number of texts be chosen from a prescribed list. The course description of the University of Toronto's Canadian literature survey (English 252Y) reads:

> An introductory survey of Canadian poetry, prose and drama, consisting of the work of at least twelve writers, at least one of them of Native Canadian origin. At least one third of the works date from before 1950, but attention is also given to very recent works. The course includes works by at least eight of the following: Moodie, Lampman, Leacock, Pratt, Klein, Ross, Birney, Davies, Laurence, Reaney, Munro, Atwood.

Interestingly, however, in both cases these lists are based around authors and not texts. This, of course, gives the instructors a somewhat greater degree of personal choice when designing their curricula. More importantly, however, these lists make a significant statement about these universities' – and many of their instructors' – vision of the Canadian canon: it is the author who is canonical and not the text.

C. Texts

While chapter four of this dissertation will address the issue of how instructors choose which books to teach and the significance and influence of theses decisions, it is useful here to look first at which books were taught in the

169 English or Comparative literature courses on the literatures of Canada I surveyed from the 1997-98 academic year[17]. Unfortunately, it was impossible to obtain the relevant text data for every one of these courses. Thus, the data presented here is derived from 128 course sections for which I was able to obtain full or partial lists of the books taught. Instead of listing every text taught in 1997-98 here (see Appendix 2 for the full list), I will use the remaining pages of this chapter to summarize some of the most important findings in this regard. If anything, the list of texts and the frequency with which each text is taught proves the limiting effect of most current course and department structures at English language universities.

While one might expect, especially with the preponderance of Canadian literature survey courses, the text data to demonstrate how the same texts are taught over and over again, that is clearly not the case. By recording the text lists from the 128 course sections for which I was able to find this information, I determined that there were 407 different texts taught in 1997-98[18]. Nevertheless, by examining this fairly extensive list of texts one can still find evidence of a number of tendencies or practices that influence significantly the overall shape of

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[17] As mentioned earlier, time restrictions in my initial research caused me to leave out the texts taught in courses on Québécois or French-Canadian literature at French language universities. This is an area I hope to explore further in the future.

[18] It should be noted here that in this section I am using the word "texts" to refer to books. A number of the books taught, in fact, contain multiple texts (i.e. Brown, Bennett, and Cooke's Anthology of Canadian Literature in English or Geddes' 15 Canadian Poets x 2), but it is frequently unclear which selections from such works were taught in the classroom. Therefore, this list actually privileges books over texts and does not endeavour to try to break its assessment of *what* is taught to this more specific level. On the other hand, although it is difficult to know which selections from anthologies or short story collections are included in the curriculum, the knowledge of which anthologies were used can frequently help us to predict what was *not* taught. The fact that the aforementioned Anthology of Canadian Literature in English (1990) includes no selections from the Native oral tradition, no selections translated from other languages such as French, no selections from any genres other than poetry and fiction, and in

the body of work privileged by its inclusion in course curricula. The most obvious place to start, perhaps, is to look at the twenty-one most frequently taught texts in 1997-98 (see Figure 10). Twenty-one, of course, is an unusual number, but with so many works with the same number of occurrences, creating a list of the top ten or twenty would necessarily leave some out that should be included.[19]

1997-98 was nearly eight years out of date, reveals a lot about the content of a course when examined in conjunction with the other texts on the syllabus.

[19] Works on the ranked list of titles most frequently taught are ordered by number of occurrences. Works with the same number of occurrences are then listed alphabetically. Thus, though a work like Roughing it in the Bush is listed here in eighth place, a better way to describe its position would be as one of three works that are the third most frequently taught texts.

Figure 10: The twenty-one most frequently taught texts (1997-98)

Title	Author	Occurrences
Anthology of Canadian Literature in English (1 vol.)	Brown, Russell, Donna Bennett, and Nathalie Cooke	20
As For Me and My House	Ross, Sinclair	20
Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town	Leacock, Stephen	20
Green Grass, Running Water	King, Thomas	16
Wacousta	Richardson, John	16
In the Skin of a Lion	Ondaatje, Michael	15
Obasan	Kogawa, Joy	15
Roughing it in the Bush	Moodie, Susanna	15
Diviners, The	Laurence, Margaret	14
15 Canadian Poets x 2	Geddes, Gary (ed.)	14
Imperialist, The	Duncan, Sara Jeanette	14
English Patient, The	Ondaatje, Michael	13
Double Hook, The	Watson, Sheila	12
Fifth Business	Davies, Robertson	11
Dry Lips Oughta Move to Kapuskasing	Highway, Tomson	10
Handmaid's Tale, The	Atwood, Margaret	10
Mountain and the Valley, The	Buckler, Ernest	10
Lives of Girls and Women	Munro, Alice	9
Stone Angel, The	Laurence, Margaret	9
Surfacing	Atwood, Margaret	9
Tay John	O'Hagan, Howard	9

For anyone who thinks they have a definite idea of what the "Canadian canon" might be, the list of the most frequently taught texts may be somewhat of a surprise. Most striking about the list, perhaps is the fact that the top ten does not include works by many of the country's most canonical English-language writers, including Margaret Atwood, Alice Munro, Robertson Davies, or Timothy Findley. While most of these writers do show up in or around the top twenty (Findley first appears near thirtieth spot with three works each taught seven times), their most frequently taught works are hardly fighting for the top position. The two exceptions to this pattern are Michael Ondaatje's In the Skin of

a Lion, which, in fifth position (fifteen occurrences), is actually one of the three works tied as the third most frequently taught, and Margaret Laurence's The Diviners, which in ninth position (fourteen occurrences) is one of the fourth most frequently taught works. As suggested earlier with reference to the regulations or guidelines surrounding Canadian literature survey courses at some universities and as will be examined in much greater detail in chapter four, the relatively weak showing in these figures by most of Canada's most prominent authors is due primarily to the fact that these authors are seen as more canonical than any one or two of their texts. This is proven dramatically when one examines the list of the top twenty most frequently taught authors (See Appendix 3 for the full list of authors ranked by frequency of course inclusions).

Figure 11: The twenty most frequently taught authors (1997-98)

Author	Occurences
Atwood, Margaret	51
Laurence, Margaret	44
Ondaatje, Michael	42
Davies, Robertson	33
Findley, Timothy	26
Leacock, Stephen	26
Ross, Sinclair	23
King, Thomas	21
Munro, Alice	21
Brown, Russell, Donna Bennett, and Nathalie Cooke	20
Highway, Tomson	18
Moodie, Susanna	17
Richardson, John	17
Richler, Mordecai	14
Duncan, Sara Jeanette	14
Geddes, Gary (ed.)	14
MacLennan, Hugh	13
Montgomery, L.M.	12
Watson, Sheila	12
Grove, Frederick Philip	11

As one can certainly tell from Figure 11, the list of most frequently taught authors bears little relation to the list of frequently taught books. The only exception to this pattern, of course, is when there are very few different works by a particular author that are taught and those that are included on courses are taught a great number of times. Authors like Sinclair Ross and Stephen Leacock, whose works As For Me and My House and Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town top the list of most frequently taught texts but who have few other works taught regularly, are prime examples of this phenomenon. For authors like Margaret Atwood, however, instructors currently seem to have little preference as to which of her works they include on their courses; given Atwood's easy domination of the rankings by author, it is surprising to note that her most frequently taught work, The Handmaid's Tale (ten occurrences), does not enter the text rankings until seventeenth spot (one of the three eighth most frequently taught works) and has only two other works, Surfacing (nine occurrences) and The Journals of Susanna Moodie (eight occurrences) in the top thirty. Much like many of the top-ranked authors in this study, and particularly those who are still alive, there seems to be little consensus about her literary works except that her body of work is of importance and should be represented in suitable Canadian literature courses.

Although the statistics as to which texts were taught will be one of the focal points of chapter four, there are a number of interesting facts about the rankings of texts and authors that are important to observe at this time. The first is the relative lack of works of poetry, drama, and non-fiction and their authors. The first individual collection of poetry on the list that is not an anthology is Atwood's The Journal of Susanna Moodie, which has an impressive eight

occurrences compared to other collections of poetry on the list. The next most frequently taught collection is Michael Ondaatje's The Collected Works of Billy the Kid (five occurrences) in 44th spot, followed by the Canadian Poetry Press' edition of Isabella Valancy Crawford's Malcolm's Katie (four occurrences) which does not appear until 65th position on the list. The other poetry books to be found in the top one hundred are Louise Bernice Halfe's Bear Bones and Feathers at 79th spot and Marlene Nourbese Philip's Looking for Livingstone in 92nd spot, each with three occurrences. In terms of anthologies, however, there are five in the top one hundred texts that are either partly or wholly devoted to poetry: in first position, Brown, Bennett, and Cooke's Anthology of Canadian Literature in English (20 occurrences); in ninth place on the list, Gary Geddes' anthology 15 Canadian Poets x 2 (14 occurrences); in 23rd spot, Canadian Poetry From the Beginnings through WW1 (eight occurrences), edited by Carole Gerson and Gwen Davies; in 57th spot Robert Lecker and Jack David's two-volume anthology of Canadian Poetry (four occurrences); and finally, in 73rd position, the Oxford Anthology of Canadian Native Literature in English (3 occurrences) edited by Daniel David Moses and Terry Goldie.[20]

The fact that the number of occurrences of these five anthologies outnumber those of the four individual collections of poetry by a margin of slightly more than two to one says a tremendous amount about how poetry is taught in Canada's English-language universities. Almost always only a part of a larger

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[20] Again, the fact that, with the exception of writers liké Ondaatje and Atwood who publish both poetry and prose, poets fare so poorly on the list of most frequently taught writers is due primarily to the fact that my statistics do not take into account the choices made by instructors as to which works they will teach from a given anthology. Were that the case, we would have a much better idea as to the poets whose works are taught most frequently in English and Comparative Literature courses on Canadian literature(s).

course on Canadian literature, instructors choose the larger scope that a single anthology can provide rather than choosing to teach one or more individual volumes of poetry. Returning to Bourdieu's theories of the market of symbolic goods, one can see how the tendency to rely on anthologies has an enormous impact on the place of poetry in this country's literary landscape. When one sees how many times anthologies such as Oxford's An Anthology of Canadian Literature in English are taught, often in course sections containing upwards of one hundred students at a time, it is clear how the economic and symbolic health of Canadian poetry publishing would be affected by a move away from the use of anthologies in literature courses to the inclusion of individual volumes by Canadian poets. Obviously, students can get a broader sense of the field by looking at the work of a greater number of poets, but this again implies and reproduces a certain value judgment about poetry. If a student is taught or takes with them the impression that one reads poems one by one, outside of the context of the larger collection or sequence from which the anthologist extracts them, it is less likely that the student will ever opt to read (and perhaps purchase) a collection of poetry by a single author. The bias of such courses towards novels – one would likely never consider teaching fiction primarily from an anthology that just included selected chapters from a wide variety of Canadian novels – and away from individual volumes of poetry can also be seen in the list of texts taught with relation to drama and short fiction.

Drama, too, is often taught from anthologies, but usually only in courses focusing specifically on that genre. Other times, when included in part of a broader course on Canadian literature (which happened 38 times in 1997-98), instructors include one or two texts of plays that their students purchase in

separate editions. This leads such works to take a more prominent place than poetry in the list of texts taught in 1997-98. For instance, Tomson Highway's Dry Lips Oughta Move to Kapuskasing occupies 16th spot (ten occurrences) and is one of the three eighth most frequently taught texts. The next play on the list, in 26th place and one of the tenth most frequently taught books, is Highway's The Rez Sisters (eight occurences). The frequency with which these two plays are taught combines to make Highway the playwright whose works are most often taught in non-genre specific English or Comparative literature courses on the Canadian literatures. The next most frequently taught play, The Book of Jessica by Linda Griffiths and Maria Campbell, was taught four times in 1997-98 and does not occur on the list until 56th position. The plays found in the one hundred most frequently taught texts are rounded out by three plays each occurring on courses three times: Michel Tremblay's Les Belles-Soeurs in 80th position, Sharon Pollock's play Blood Relations in 81st position, and Ann-Marie MacDonald's Good Night Desdemona (Good Morning Juliet) in 86th position.

Short fiction fares much better in the list, in part because there was a tendency among many instructors I surveyed to include at least one collection of short stories in their non-genre-specific courses on Canadian literature. The most prominent example of the popularity of a collection of short fiction is Stephen Leacock's Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town, which with twenty occurrences is one of only three texts taught that many times in 1997-98. A full 11% of the top one hundred most frequently taught books are works of short fiction and this includes two works by Alice Munro, Lives of Girls and Women (nine occurrences) and Who Do You Think You Are? (seven occurrences); two by Morley Callaghan, Such is My Beloved (four occurrences) and The Loved and the

Lost (three occurrences); and collections by other important authors of short fiction including Jack Hodgins, Margaret Atwood, and Sinclair Ross. Of course, short stories also make their way into course syllabi through their inclusion in anthologies like the popular Brown, Bennett, and Cooke anthology and W.H. New's anthology Canadian Short Fiction which appeared four times among the courses I surveyed.

Also worth noting is the fact that only one original work in the top five and four of the top ten were written in the last thirty years. If courses in Canadian literature, as many instructors told me, are more heavily weighted to the literature written after the mid 1960s, then these works do not overly dominate the top ten only because instructors choose from (and are able to choose from) a much wider variety of texts and authors than they do when choosing, say, texts from the 1910s or 1920s, let alone the nineteenth century. In addition, as already mentioned, the vast majority of courses on Canadian literature that I examined define "Literature" to include only fiction, poetry, and drama. While there were a variety of volumes of essays, criticism, and theory taught in Canadian literature courses during the year in question, none were taught frequently enough to appear in the first one hundred texts on the list (see appendix two). The two most frequently taught works of non-fiction were Marshall McLuhan's The Medium is the Massage and Arthur Kroker's Technology and the Canadian Mind, each of which was taught twice in Comparative Literature courses at the University of Alberta and wind up in 138th and 153rd position respectively. There are, nevertheless, a fair number of non-fiction texts which occur only once and are often part of upper-level special topics courses offered that year. These include everything from Northrop Frye's Anatomy of Criticism and Germaine

Warkentin's anthology of Canadian Exploration Literature to Linda Hutcheon's The Canadian Postmodern and the anthology New Contexts of Canadian Criticism edited by Ajay Heble, Donna Palmateer Penee, and J.R. Struthers. It is also likely that some critical or theoretical essays are included in the curriculum through "course packs" of photocopied readings. The number of courses which include such pre-packaged sets of additional material is significant – in 1997-98 there were thirteen courses using course packs – and it was the sense of many of the professors I interviewed that this practice will continue to grow.

The most interesting question raised by these lists of texts included in English and Comparative literature courses on the literatures of Canada, of course, is not which texts get taught, but how instructors choose which texts to teach. As we will see in the next chapter, many of these decisions are directly and perhaps unavoidably influenced by issues of course and department structure discussed here. What is most striking about the beliefs and practices of the instructors I spoke with is that nearly everyone took these structures as a fait accompli that they needed to work around when designing the syllabus for their individual courses. With the only exceptions in English Canada being the relatively recent BA program in Canadian literature at the University of Victoria and the occasional course restructuring or new course development at other universities, the place of the literatures of Canada in English departments today seems to have changed very little since the Symons report, To Know Ourselves, was published in 1975. On the other hand, the flourishing of the study of Québécois literature at Québec's French-language universities demonstrates this need not be the case. My interviews with professors in both English and French Canada clearly suggests that without new approaches and revised course and

department structures in English-language universities, the effect of the cultural reproduction and institutional self-reproduction in which departments of literature engage will hinder any attempts we make to further our understanding of the literatures of Canada in any truly significant way.

Chapter Four

Mind the Gaps:

Professors, "coverage," and the Canadian literature curriculum

"confined to the study of one representational complex, literary critics accept and paradoxically ignore the lines drawn around what they do."

- Edward Said, "Opponents, Audiences, Constituencies, and Community"

"To choose this or that is to affirm at the same time the value of what we choose [. . .]."

- Jean-Paul Sartre, Existentialism and Human Emotions

As we have seen, the many department calendars, course outlines, and booklists I was able to gather on my research trip provide a very detailed snapshot of a single year in the life of Canadian literature as it was taught in the 207 literature courses I catalogued at the universities I visited. While that data can reveal much to us about *what* was taught, it tells us little about *why* it was taught. It was precisely for this reason that I chose to do a significant amount of my research in the field, so to speak, rather than from within the physical and metaphorical walls of the University of Alberta. The importance of getting a sense of individual practices and attitudes towards the teaching of the literatures

of Canada was particularly reinforced for me by Professor Larry McDonald of Carleton University who suggested to me that "far too much attention is paid to which texts we select to teach, as if that itself were the canon. The canon is not what texts we teach, the canon is the way we teach texts." Noting how, for instance, many anthologies and critical works downplay the political views and activism of the works and lives of writers like Earle Birney or F.R. Scott, something he emphasizes in his own teaching and writing, McDonald added that "I can teach exactly the same texts as other people, but my canon is totally different." While I deliberately chose not to focus on questions of instructor's positions in relation to important factors such as aesthetics, theory, literary history, or pedagogy, these issues did come up fairly frequently in my interviews, proving McDonald's point that one cannot entirely determine *how* a particular work is taught simply by gauging its presence on a course and its placement vis-à-vis the other texts on the syllabus. Nevertheless, I will argue, and this was borne out in many of the interviews I conducted, many instructors tend to overestimate the role those factors play in shaping their courses and underestimate the effect on knowledge production of the departmental and curricular boundaries that are "imposed" on them as instructors and designers of course syllabi.

When I initially planned my research and then began interviewing subjects, I believed I would learn most about the process of canon formation from understanding how professors' own conceptions of the literatures of Canada – which are, of course, thoroughly influenced by the *habitus* of their current department and those where they studied, the discipline, and their respective histories – helped them to determine which texts to teach. If there is one thing the

results from my interviews demonstrate, however, it is that professors and instructors – in their roles as both critics and teachers – do not make enough of a connection between their vision of the canon and the curriculum at their own institutions. An overwhelming majority of the people with whom I spoke envision the composition of the individual course syllabus as the primary shaping force of the canon – or at least of the smaller canon of those books that are taught – and vice versa. Although several suggested to me that there was no such thing as a Canadian canon, many other professors expressed feeling a need and/or an obligation to represent the canon in their courses. A number of my interview subjects also felt that they could take action against some of the canon's apparent exclusions by integrating the occasional "neglected" work or author into their courses. That said, there was rarely any clear consensus as to the boundaries and shape of the canon. Indeed, the canon, as it is constructed by literature courses, often looks somewhat different depending on which institution one is examining or in which region of the country one finds oneself.

Defining the canon, whether one seeks to defend or attack it, is ultimately an impossible task, for the literary canon is always in transition; it is a cultural stock exchange, or in Bourdieu's terms "a market of symbolic goods," in which works are in a constant state of gaining or losing cultural capital. The canon, as John Guillory argues so persuasively in Cultural Capital, is "never other than an imaginary list" (30). In his essay "Contingencies of Canonicity," Paul Trout suggests, appropriately, then that "the canon should be envisioned as a series of concentric circles, like those on a target, in which canonical works have varying degrees of canonicity. In other words, it is not a simple case of a text being either in or out of the canon, or even of canonical works having the same degree of

canonicity" (3) In the innermost circle, Trout places those works that are "the *least* vulnerable to displacement by hostile re-assessment or by changing cultural, political, or intellectual fashions" (4). As one moves outwards, the degree of a work's canonicity becomes less stable; it may be acquiring a greater degree of canonicity or cultural capital, or it may in fact be slowly drifting away from the centre as it begins to lose its apparent relevance.

While, as the work of Bourdieu and Dubois has shown us, the degree of a work's canonicity is the result of continuous and complex interactions among all the levels of the literary institution, such as criticism, publishing, and bookselling, perhaps the most influential force in determining a work's status is the education system. As Guillory points out, "what does have a concrete location as a list, [. . .] is not the canon but the syllabus, the list of works one reads in a given class, or the curriculum, the list of works one reads in a program of study" (30). The syllabus, of course, is usually the place where the canon is most visible. While the teaching of a text, and more importantly the continued teaching of a text, is one of the greatest influences on its canonical status, that status does not have an equivalent effect on which texts will or will not be taught. In other words, the curriculum of any department of English or French and the structure of the courses that make up that curriculum, while obviously reflecting a certain vision of the canon, inevitably obliges instructors to choose to teach certain texts or types of texts over others for reasons unrelated to the canon. These kinds of choices are especially pertinent when an instructor is trying to create a syllabus for a survey course in which the aim of representing different time periods, regions, styles, or genres frequently supersede considerations of canonicity. The curriculum, then, not only affects which works or types of works

get taught but also continually works to shape the canon, that "imaginary list" from which those course texts are chosen.

Not only is the teaching of the literatures of Canada frequently an excellent illustration of how this interaction between canon and curriculum occurs, in the case of English-Canadian literature it also demonstrates remarkably well the fundamental problems with the current Canadian literature curriculum found in nearly every English department in the country. Unfortunately, aside from the work of a few scholars including Margery Fee and Sarah King, there have been few, if any, sustained looks at the Canadian literature curriculum, especially in its current form. This has not been the case in Québec where scholars have been paying serious attention to questions of the university's role in the literary institution for the last thirty years. This frequent neglect of the curriculum has been one of the major shortcomings of much of what has been written in English Canada about the literary canon. This particular lack of self-reflexivity on the part of many anglophone scholars of the literatures of Canada, Graff would undoubtedly agree, is one of the fundamental effects of what he calls the "field coverage principle," around which nearly every literature department in the country is organized. One of the seemingly innocuous, but remarkably insidious aspects of the field coverage model is that it permits departments to incorporate new literary voices or address challenges to the curriculum simply by adding new (and nearly always optional) courses to the current list of courses offered. While this allows the department to seem open and responsive to such challenges, it also quietly reinforces the hegemony in that such changes rarely, if ever, disrupt or threaten the way in which the rest of the department has always done things. Many of the professors' responses to the questions I asked clearly

reveal these very consequences of the field coverage model and illustrate the process of cultural reproduction in action. Moreover, they demonstrate some of the ways in which the curriculum has shaped and continues to shape the knowledge we have of our own literatures.

Aiming to learn more about how professors design syllabi for courses in the literatures of Canada and why they choose certain texts over others, I asked many questions that were directly focused on these issues. As my ultimate goal, however, was to develop a greater understanding of the type of knowledge produced by these courses, the broader questions I asked each professor were more oriented towards his or her goals for the course(s) in question and how those goals related to issues such as the relationship between literature and nation, a concern which ties into the origins of departments of English and French but also to the early rationale behind the inclusion of the literatures of Canada in the curriculum. The rest of this chapter is structured around the following groups of questions I asked during each interview:

1. At which institutions did you receive your post-secondary education? How did you wind up teaching at this particular university?

2. Which Canadian literature course(s) are you teaching this year? When you planned this/these course(s), what were your objectives? What kind of influence do your past personal, academic, and/or teaching experiences play in this process?

3. Which factors helped you to determine which texts to teach? Did price and/or availability of texts have an effect on that decision? Did department regulations or guidelines shape the course(s) in any way?

4. Do you feel the need or a pressure to represent various cultural, ethnic, or language groups in your syllabus? Have you included Native literature on your course? Have you included any French texts in translation?

5. Do you think it is possible to develop in your students a greater sense of Canada (or Québec) through teaching them about its literature? If so, do you structure your course in such a way so as to facilitate this?[21]

From every interview I received a wealth of information, so much so, in fact, that I could have likely written an entire dissertation on the responses I received for each of the different questions I asked. What follows in my discussion of each of these issues, then, is a general summary of the responses I received for each question with a number of representative or otherwise noteworthy responses from the professors to whom I spoke. As one would hope to come from this type of exploratory research, this chapter will perhaps raise more questions than it answers. However, the result, I hope, is one that sheds a great deal of light on our relation to "the lines drawn around what [we] do" (Said 153).

1. Origins

I began every interview by asking my subjects to recount briefly their academic history and what led them to teach courses on the literatures of Canada at their current institution. I hoped by gathering this information to be able to

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[21] As mentioned in the previous chapter, some of the people to whom I spoke were not in fact teaching courses in the literatures of Canada during that particular term or academic year. In such cases, I oriented my questions more towards the subjects' past experiences teaching such courses and the general issues raised by my questions.

make some observations as to the lineage of Canadian literary studies. I was curious to know, for instance, if professors who did their PhD at a certain institution or with a particular supervisor would carry with them a distinctive conception of the literatures of Canada, and if that type of influence would dissipate as they began teaching at a different institution, with at least a somewhat different curriculum, and a new set of colleagues. As I will discuss shortly, it is quite clear that one's training in the field (or lack thereof) is very likely to have a profound effect on one's perspective of it, even twenty or thirty years after making the transition from student to faculty.

What particularly caught me off guard, however, was the eagerness with which the professors I interviewed offered detailed accounts of their academic and professional histories. While I first envisioned this part of my questioning as simply yielding some basic biographical data, it became clear from the first day I conducted interviews that in fact I was gathering personal and disciplinary oral histories. Although a significant amount of what people told me was not directly relevant to the specific nature of this study, I also began to see in the stories some distinct patterns of experience that helped to provide some useful contexts for understanding the data I was collecting. Because I tried to speak to everyone who was currently teaching courses in the literatures of Canada at the institutions I visited, my subjects ranged from people like Christopher Bracken at the University of Alberta and Glenn Willmott at Queen's University who were both at the beginning stages of their careers to professors such as Stan Dragland at the University of Western Ontario and Donna Smyth at Acadia University who were, as it turned out, on the verge of retiring from their positions as professors. The disparity between the different generations of professors I

interviewed, however, is something that extends far beyond differences in age and what are sometimes quite diverging attitudes towards theory, aesthetics, and the canon. Specifically, the experiences of those who started teaching the literatures of Canada in the 1960s and 1970s have given them a markedly different sense of the discipline than the professors who were hired over the last twenty years and, particularly, the relatively small number who were hired in the 1990s.

When one looks at the academic history of those professors teaching courses on the literatures of Canada in 1997, their demographics strikingly illustrate the history of the discipline since the late 1960s. The fact that the majority of the professors with whom I spoke had been hired in the late 1960s or early 1970s reminds us not only of the longevity of academic careers, but also points to how the developments in the study of the literatures of Canada at that time continue, in some form, to influence the discipline today. What would likely surprise anyone without a knowledge of the history of the discipline is that the majority of the people hired during the late 1960s and early 1970s who now teach – in some cases exclusively – courses in the literatures of Canada had no formal training, let alone a PhD, in the field and were, in fact, initially hired to teach in other areas such as Romanticism or Old English literature. The same cannot be said of the professors I interviewed who were under the age of 45, of whom there were only one or two who did not do graduate work and a PhD dissertation in the field. This demographic divide is reflected clearly in the still quite dramatic figures that I was able to gather.

Of the 104 professors and instructors I interviewed, only 52 (50%) had written a PhD thesis on a topic related to Canadian literatures. 44 (42%) had written their

doctoral theses on non-Canadian topics, while 6 (5.8%) had no PhD. 2 (1.9%) professors had PhDs in Creative Writing for which their thesis consisted of a collection of new poems. There are, of course, many historical reasons for these statistics, as was illustrated by the anecdotes most of the older scholars told me about their academic history. Many of the people I spoke to without any graduate specialization in the literatures of Canada were of a generation for whom there was no possibility of taking courses in the field and, more importantly, the idea of writing a PhD on a Canadian topic was frowned upon by departments and, indeed, fellow graduate students. With the post-Expo '67 surge in Canadian nationalism and the resultant boom in interest in the national literatures, the few scholars I spoke to who at one time had wanted to study the literatures of Canada were given the opportunity to teach some of the new courses that were developed to meet this growing need.

The cases of at least thirty of the professors I interviewed were quite different. Some were foreigners who discovered the literatures of Canada when they emigrated here, while for others it took leaving Canada for them to develop a more profound interest in the literature of the country they had left behind. The late 1960s and early 1970s saw a significant number of academics emigrating primarily from the United States to take positions at Canadian universities. While they too were hired to teach in other areas, many found themselves attracted to Canadian literature as they tried to learn more about the country to which they had come. As Russell Brown, a University of Toronto Professor of English originally from the United States, explained to me about his own discovery of Canadian literature, "it made sense to be reading contemporary Canadian stuff because I was interested in contemporary lit in general but also I

had this terrific sense that it was telling me something about the place to which I'd come" (Nov. 7, 1997). Ironically, it was this same desire to make a deeper connection with the country through its literature that prompted another group of new or future professors to move away from or expand upon the areas in which they had pursued their graduate research.

Although this has lessened considerably over the last thirty-five years, in Canada one acquires a greater amount of prestige or cultural capital from the pursuit of a graduate degree at a major British, American, or French university than if one were to do the same work at a Canadian institution. A number of the professors I spoke to left Canada to pursue their graduate work at foreign universities but ultimately found that their immersion in a different culture made them much more curious about their own. As University of Western Ontario professor Tom Tausky put it, "I had gradually become aware of the need to know something about my own country when I went away" (Oct. 9, 1997). In reading more Canadian literature, the scholars I spoke to who, like Tausky, left Canada temporarily, described becoming more and more engaged with the sense of recognition they found in a literature rooted in their own place and (sometimes) time. In this respect, Donna Smyth, who has since retired from her position as a Professor of English at Acadia University, recounted returning home from her studies in England and reading The Stone Angel in a hotel room in Saskatoon, where she had just accepted her first academic position at the University of Saskatchewan: "It was just complete recognition, of a kind I hadn't discovered anywhere else. [. . .] "I remember thinking 'this is it!' It was like a revelation. This is what I want to do. This is what I want to teach" (Oct. 29, 1997).

By focusing momentarily on the significant number of professors of the literatures of Canada with no formal training in the field, I do not mean to suggest that those who never studied the literature are, as a result, less capable of teaching that body of work than those who studied it as undergraduate and graduate students. The professors who began teaching the new courses in the literatures of Canada as they sprouted up across the country in the 1960s and early 1970s were, in many cases, true pioneers. Though they may not have been among the first to view the terrain as were figures such as J.D. Logan, Carlyle King, or Camille Roy, it was these professors who helped to clear the land and began to work "the field." As the materials (course texts, library holdings, works of criticism and theory) with which these scholars and teachers had to work were rudimentary and limited in number, they needed to fashion new tools – not to mention their own knowledge of the subject – from scratch. Prompted to "retool" by their own burgeoning interest in the field, the sentiment of Canadian and Québécois nationalism of the 1960s and 1970s, and student demand for courses on their national literatures, these professors essentially found themselves exploring the literatures of Canada at the same time as their students.

Though an obvious point to make, it is important to remember just how different the experience of those who began teaching courses in the literatures of Canada during this period is from those who completed their graduate work in the field and began teaching in the 1980s and 1990s. The professors who have entered the field over the last twenty years or who are poised to do so in the near future did not encounter the same degree of resistance from their own departments and individual colleagues to the offering of courses on the literatures of Canada. Those generations may have still encountered others who

consider Canadian works to be the lesser cousins of those written in Britain or France, but from the 1970s on students nevertheless had the option of taking one or more courses on the subject and graduate students found themselves free and even encouraged to write their dissertations on Canadian topics, partly because there were now teachers and supervisors who could offer such courses and supervise such research. The growing wealth of new and recovered primary and secondary sources, not to mention the explosion of international attention to the literatures of Canada, also brought a greater credibility to the field and led to increasingly specialized and sophisticated types of research. The legitimacy that the teaching and research of the literatures of Canada has accrued means that those working in the field today are now seen to be on par with the rest of their colleagues. As Russell Brown said in my interview with him, "In some ways, if we are more 'post-national' right now, I think it is true in the same way that young women right now are 'post feminist'. That is to say, the work got done" (Nov. 7, 1997).

If the experiences of the younger generation(s) of professors are fundamentally different from those of their older colleagues, the former nevertheless continue to be shaped profoundly by the latter. For instance, many belonging to the earlier generations of academics with whom I spoke, whose initial enthusiasm for one or all of the literatures of Canada was influenced by the surges in Canadian and Québécois nationalism, not only believed that it was possible to gain a better understanding of Canada through studying its literatures but also affirmed that this was one of the pedagogical goals in their courses – something one cannot imagine hearing with respect to courses on Shakespeare or the Romantic poets, for instance. While a few of the older

professors I interviewed objected to the concept of there being such a close and unproblematic connection between literature and the nation, it was typically the younger generation of professors who balked at any attempts to see the teaching of the literatures of Canada as a sort of nationalistic project in which one is teaching the students about the country as much as the body or bodies of literature it continues to produce. Nevertheless, even instructors who discussed trying to problematize the notions of Canada as being a simple, knowable, and uncontested space admitted that they too were still promoting ways in which one can read the country through its literature. As University of Western Ontario professor Frank Davey explained to me,

> I see myself as teaching a course in the literary construction and articulation of cultural conflict. I assume that for many, because these conflicts occur all around them, because this literature is set within the conflicts in which they have a personal stake, or [in which] their families have had personal stakes because they live in this country, that this was much more meaningful for them and they will read perhaps more attentively and more perceptively than they would read the literature of a culture in which they had no stake.

The most significant difference I found between Anglophone professors who came to the literatures of Canada at a later point in their career and those who studied and wrote dissertations on the subject was that members of the former group frequently defended the minor place of the literatures of Canada in their department's curriculum, arguing that one should view "Canadian Literature" (by which they obviously meant only that which is written in English) as an extension of the British tradition. For this reason, therefore, they viewed it to be quite important that one have a solid grounding in the history of British

literature in order to understand English-Canadian literature. "I thoroughly agree with that," said one professor, "and I still think that one cannot really know Canadian literature without knowing British literature and American literature. Because they are the one's that are closest to us, they are the context within which we are working. [. . .] There are just all sorts of things that one can't fully know within Canadian literature if you don't know those other things." Regardless of one's stand on the issue, it is clear that the curriculum at nearly every department of English in the country reflects and indeed promotes this very paradigm. No Canadian university student can earn a Bachelor of Arts degree with an Honours, Major, or specialization in English unless the vast majority of the courses she or he has taken is centred around British literature. The sole alternative that provides a greater space for undergraduate English courses in Canadian literature is the bilingual program in Comparative Canadian literature offered the University of Victoria. Conversely, as we have already seen, there are a variety of curricular formations at the French universities in Québec; while a student can specialize in French literature, she or he also has the option of focusing her or his studies on Québécois literature. Furthermore, by the time most students graduate from the CÉGEP system to the university level, they have already been exposed to more Québécois literature than many English majors, Honours students, or "specialists" will see of English-Canadian literature in their entire undergraduate programs.

It is evident that any study of how the literatures of Canada are taught must examine the effect of the personal and academic experiences of the professors teaching courses in the subject, for these have left and continue to leave an indelible impression on the shape of the discipline. The very nature of academic

employment – where tenured professors usually remain in their positions and in the same departments that first hired them for upwards of thirty years – makes university departments one of the most stable and, indeed, inertial institutional settings currently in existence. Institutional and cultural reproduction, then, occurs both through the habitus the department continually creates, maintains, and reproduces and the cultural agents (undergraduate and graduate students) it produces and sends out into the world. Again, the experiences of those agents who go on to become teachers and researchers in the field aid especially in spreading and furthering the influence of the habitus in which they did their training. As we will see shortly, for instance, one of the most common factors cited by professors for excluding from their courses texts in translation and/or First Nations literatures was that they had little, if any, experience or training in those areas. This is just one of the most apparent examples of how one's initial experiences in any field can go on to affect how one perceives and transmits that body of knowledge from that point on.

In terms of the teaching of the literatures of Canada, one can begin to document this chain of influence in a number of ways. For instance, one way to look at the cause for the prevalence of excluding translated works in English courses is to consider the number of current professors in the field who received their PhD from institutions such as the University of Toronto's Department of English where, as I have already discussed, there is not only a policy against teaching works in translation but also some very definite guidelines as to which authors should be taught in the survey course in Canadian literature. From the fact that 13 of the 92 English professors I interviewed (14%) had a PhD in English from Toronto, one can assume that most, if not all, of those 13 will not teach

works in translation, not only because of their lack of experience with it but also because it is excluded from the vision of "Canadian literature" that they have likely inherited. This tendency, logically, then trickles down to the students they teach and so this view of the literatures of Canada is not only perpetuated but, in fact, continues to grow. This same process is visible in one's selection of texts and authors to teach – something which often reflects and affects one's perception of the canon – and also in how one approaches the literature itself and the process of teaching it.

One of the more fascinating aspects of the literature curriculum at the French-language universities in Québec is that, unlike the state of English departments in English Canada, there is a fairly wide divergence of approach between the departments which teach Québécois literature at the three major universities. The Université du Québec à Montréal's Département d'études littéraires, for instance, by its very structure advocates a vision of literature that sees past national and linguistic boundaries and focuses instead on the more aesthetic concerns of genre, theme, and style, not to mention literary theory. Conversely, the Université de Montréal seems to offer a more traditional approach to the study of literature, in part because, as one of my subjects speculated, historically many of its faculty were either French or Québécois in origin who had done their graduate work in France. Historically, as Laval professor and director of the Centre de recherche en littérature québécoise (CRELIQ) Denis Saint-Jacques suggested to me, the Université Laval's Département de littératures has had a greater number of faculty born and educated in Québec and has placed a greater emphasis on the teaching and research of Québécois literature (Oct. 23, 1997). The Université Laval's status as the most important of the three in terms of the

study of Québécois literature is partly due to the subject's strong place in the curriculum today, but also because of the department's long history of promoting research and teaching in the field, which led it to hire, whenever possible, those scholars who could best contribute to furthering this vision. The presence of CRELIQ, founded in 1981, contributes greatly to this objective and plays a key role in the process of both expanding knowledge in the field and further cementing and then reproducing a habitus hospitable to the study of Québécois literature. In other words, by fostering further research into, for instance, literary history with its epic La Vie littéraire au Québec series, the Centre not only provides faculty with a means of publishing their research but also helps to expand our understanding of the field. This ultimately filters into the classroom, where professors' teaching interests often mirror their research whenever possible.

2. Objectives

The question of a professor's pedagogical objectives when designing a course is a complex one. In order to assess such objectives fully, one would need to examine in detail each professor's academic history, research interests, and teaching philosophy, particularly as it pertains to what he or she envision to be the purpose of studying literature. Moreover, there is also the question of how successful he or she is in meeting those objectives; in other words, one would need to try to measure if what the students take away from the course corresponds with what the professor hoped they would learn. Nevertheless, having a sense of what the professor aims to accomplish in a course is an essential component of trying to understand the choices of texts he or she has

made. For this reason, it is worth examining in some detail the types of responses I received when I asked my subjects about their specific objectives for the courses they were teaching on the literatures of Canada. In many cases, professors described aims that seemed to have little direct correlation to the use of specific texts in the classroom, such as the goal of helping students to be more proficient at textual analysis or more enthusiastic about reading the literature of their own country. Others emphasized that their primary aim is to give the students a sense of the literary history of Canada or a better understanding of the themes and issues they believed to be central to the literatures of Canada. In each case, however, the curriculum has a more important impact on the shape of the course than any of the professors' objectives.

What is most surprising about the responses I received when I asked professors about their main objectives when designing and teaching their courses on the literatures of Canada is that around 40% of them focused initially on issues that were not directly related to historical, regional, or thematic coverage of the body of the literary traditions, but rather to what might initially seem to some to be less rigorous approaches. This can be explained in part by the number of introductory courses to Canadian literature that I looked at. People teaching more specialized courses on a particular author, time period, or movement, were less likely, naturally, to offer such explanations. Among those who did, however, several important themes emerged, the most prominent of which were the objectives of making students more aware of and enthused about their national literature(s) and increasing their skills of close reading and textual analysis. Many professors who were teaching introductory courses spoke to me of how it was their goal not only to expose their students to the literature but to make

them lifelong readers of it. Given that a fair proportion of students of such courses are not literature majors and may never take another literature course in their lives, this is an understandable and noble objective. Anyone who teaches literature, in fact, can find inspiration in some of the practices described to me by subjects such as John O'Connor, a Professor of English at the University of Toronto:

> I've said to [my students] at the end of my courses that the real test of the course is not whether they read the books – because I'll find that out when I read the final test – but whether they read a book again. I say: "If you don't, and this is the last Canadian book you'll ever read, then you may not fail the course, but I would have to say that the course has failed you. The whole point of this ought to be to hook you, to commit you in some sense to a knowledge of the literature of your own time and place." (Oct. 7, 1997)

For others, however, making students enthusiastic about the literatures of their own country and about reading literature in general is, at best, a secondary or tertiary objective. Many of the professors of introductory courses I spoke to posited the greater development in their students of skills of analysis and writing to be their primary goal, a sign perhaps that they view themselves as teachers of literary studies as much as teachers of a particular national literature. One response from Lorraine York, a professor of English at McMaster University, illustrates this perspective quite well, though it is not completely representative of her overall approach to the teaching of Canadian literature. She describes her primary pedagogical goal as:

> Teaching method, teaching interpretation, teaching a habit of thinking about how texts are formed. It has shifted much more to that and away

> from a content base. I never really had much taste for that idea of, you know, you give people the content and it's the content that they need. [. . .] I think my inclination has always been to shift much more to teaching a method of thinking, teaching approaches, teaching reading, in effect. Or teaching texts as part of a culture instead of very separate entities, which of course is the way I was taught. (Oct. 9, 1997)

Not surprisingly, this is a view that I heard in both English and French Canada from many of the younger professors in the field who seem to have moved to more of a "post-national" approach to the literature. For some, this is a sign that the literatures of Canada have "grown up" and occupy a place alongside the other major literatures studied in departments of English, French, literary studies, or Comparative Literature; that is to say, the reasons for studying them are no different than for any other body of work. What is most striking, of course, about placing method and skills at the centre of the course objectives is that the coverage of "content" becomes to some degree a vehicle to achieve the latter rather than vice-versa.

Yet, although a number of professors seem to be moving more towards a skills-based approach to literary studies and numerous critics advocate such a paradigm as the ideal replacement for the outmoded and stagnant field-coverage model, the Canadian literature(s) curriculum, particularly in so far as introductory-level English courses are concerned, remains focused on covering the histories and traditions of the literatures of Canada as well as representing their major authors and works. It should not be surprising, therefore, that many of my subjects suggested that such "coverage" was their primary aim when constructing their courses. The ineluctable weight of the curriculum inevitably

leads most, if not all, professors, regardless of their teaching philosophy, to work to meet the demands of the course structure(s) the department provides for them. These constraints are frequently laid out very clearly in department calendars, which function in a subtle but highly effective manner to ensure institutional and, ultimately, cultural reproduction. Take, for instance, the description of "English 202: Introduction to Canadian Literature" from the University of British Columbia's Department of English guide:

> English 202 provides an introduction to major authors, themes and forms in Canadian literature. While the approach to this material varies from section to section, all sections teach works published in the genres of poetry, fiction, drama and prose (critical, exploration, etc.), and all sections seek to represent varieties of cultural experiences within Canadian literature.

Although this generic description for the survey course, of which the department offered eight sections in 1997-98, is very general in nature, it still sets out some definite parameters for the instructor teaching the course and provides students with a number of significant expectations before they even enter the classroom. Stating that the course is centred around "major authors, themes and forms in Canadian literature" immediately lends a canonical weight to the works and ideas covered in the course, implying, in other words, that if a work is covered in class, it is because it is an important one. The same emphasis on the significance of the works chosen for study is found in the description of the Université du Québec à Montréal's survey course, LIT1605 "Panorama de la littérature québécoise":

> L'objectif de ce cours est d'identifier les courants et les pratiques littéraires dominants et de prendre connaissance des oeuvres marquantes du corpus

> littéraire québécois. L'approche sera davantage historique et on couvrira l'ensemble du corpus, depuis les écrits de la Nouvelle-France jusqu'à l'écriture contemporaine.

At the same time as it denotes an emphasis on "les courants et les pratiques littéraires dominants" and those works deemed to be "marquantes," the description also delineates certain elements of the course structure, namely a historical focus that aims to cover all of the major movements and works since the founding of New France. Similarly, the final clause of the description for English 202, which indicates an attempt to "represent varieties of cultural experiences" makes it clear that the department (and the student) expects that the instructor will endeavour to include texts by writers from a wide variety of regional, ethnic, and/or cultural groups.

Other types of course descriptions direct the instructor's work in even more specific ways. In some cases, such as that of the description for the University of Alberta's "English 271: Canadian Literature: Major Writers and Movements," these texts lay out a vision of the literatures and literary histories of Canada which the instructor is then obliged to either follow or work against:

> A study of the growth of English-Canadian literature in its historical and cultural context from the colonial period to the present, with an emphasis on major writers and movements. The course examines the development of a literary culture in the decades prior to Confederation; the rise of Canadian imperialism and of a "national" literature in the period between Confederation and the outbreak of WWI; the emergence and consolidation of literary modernism following WW I; and its eclipse in the closing decades of this century by postmodernism.

One can see from this description how it posits an narrative of growth that begins with the immature seeds of the "colonial period" when the description suggests there was no "literary culture" to the rise and fall of Canadian "literary modernism" – the mere existence of which is not an uncontroversial topic in Canadian literary criticism – to a new point of maturity as illustrated by the prevalence of postmodernism. Whether or not the instructor agrees with such a narrative or not, it becomes the de facto starting point for the course. In some cases, the stock course descriptions even include lists of authors whose work will or might be included in the course. One of the many excellent examples of this is the description for a University of Prince Edward Island course on "English-Canadian Poetry" (English 322) which notes that

> This course examines English-Canadian poetry from the Nineteenth Century to the present, focusing on poets of the Confederation era, major figures of 1930-1970 such as Pratt, Livesay, Birney, Page, Avison, Layton, Purdy, Cohen and Atwood, and the important new voices and poetic developments of the 1970s and 1980s.

Again, the inclusion of such names and the exclusion of others – in this case, all poets who first published before 1930 or after 1970 – is an explicit indication of the department's valuation of certain writers in comparison to others. Every one of these examples is a reminder of the degree to which, in creating the syllabus, each instructor has to negotiate the array of boundaries or "guidelines" established by the curriculum and expressed in department publications. The fact that many instructors frequently see themselves as the source or originators of the primary objectives in any course they teach is an indication of just how

much professors deliberately or unconsciously accept and/or forget the "lines drawn around what they do" (Said 20).

3. Selection of Texts:

In any literature course, the primary vehicle used by an instructor to achieve his or her goals is the selection of texts. Although *how* an instructor uses a text as a pedagogical tool can vary tremendously, one can learn a great deal about the instructor's (and the department's) vision of the literatures from the list of texts he or she has chosen to teach. For that reason I deliberately spent much of each interview asking my subjects questions about which texts they had chosen to teach and why they had chosen them. One of my first questions was if issues of price and availability – a factor almost always ignored in discussions of the canon – ever affected which texts they chose to include on the course. Although nearly everyone I spoke to had at least one or two examples of a text they were unable to teach because it had fallen out of print, many suggested that, ultimately, availability was not a critical issue. As one professor put it to me, "if you're teaching a survey course and one text you want is out of print, don't tell me that's the only text that fulfills the reason that you're teaching it." Although one could take the prevalence of this opinion to be a sign of the wide availability and diversity of Canadian literary works currently in print, one can also see it as an indication of the effectiveness of the market of symbolic goods and cultural reproduction. In other words, the reason that so few people have major complaints about the choice of texts they have at their disposal is that they primarily teach the texts that are almost always in print. Those texts then remain in print precisely because they are taught so frequently, further augmenting their

symbolic value. That increased status, in return, increases the chances the text will be taught. It should be noted that there were some professors such as John O'Connor who recognized the danger of making assumptions about those texts that are available versus those that are not: "On the whole, we tend to feel -- maybe because we preconceive it -- that what's there is the best. Because if it weren't the best, it wouldn't be there. I think we have to resist that a little bit to say 'what has fallen away?'" (Oct. 7, 1997). These same professors also often discussed having strategically supported texts that they feared might disappear from print if they were not taught on a regular basis.

The price of texts is also a significant issue that ultimately has a tremendous effect on the shape of students' knowledge of the literatures of Canada. Despite the fact – or perhaps because of the fact – that most undergraduate students routinely pay hundreds of dollars for textbooks for a single Computing Science or Economics course, there is a strong feeling among literature professors that it is unfair to burden students with having to spend a lot of money on books for their courses in literature. Some professors keep close tabs on the total cost of the books they have ordered for the course; a number told me they always make sure the total cost never exceed forty or fifty dollars for a full-year course. The more common means of keeping down the cost in a survey course, however, is for the professor to use a combination of inexpensive books and an anthology that allows students to buy a single book that will be used at a number of points throughout the course. As I discussed in the previous chapter, the use of anthologies such as Brown, Bennett, and Cooke's An Anthology of Canadian Literature in English or Geddes' 15 Canadian Poets x 2, both published by Oxford University Press, has numerous repercussions on the choice of texts to be

covered in a course. Most obviously, instructors find themselves using poems or short stories from an anthology they likely would have not taught had they not been part of that volume. The choices made by the editors of such anthologies, however, can also direct the instructor's choice of the other books for the course. For instance, the instructor might choose texts that help fill what he or she feels to be gaps in the anthology, such as the lack of much early Canadian literature in the Brown, Bennett, and Cooke anthology. While the gaps in anthologies may boost the likelihood that some other texts will be chosen as a supplement, they can also cannibalize the sales of other titles, especially individual collections of poetry or short stories. By reducing the potential course adoptions of such texts, anthologies can help to drive them out of print, thus reinforcing the seemingly valuable status of the anthologies themselves, for they then become the only in-print source for certain stories and poems.

The price of anthologies, of course, can also have a profound effect on the shape of a course's book list. With anthologies sometimes costing students around forty dollars, many instructors using anthologies told me they also deliberately try to assign inexpensive texts such as those from, as one professor put it, the "cheap and cheerful" New Canadian Library series or, in the case of courses in Québécois literature, the Bibliothèque Québécoise. In the case of the teaching of English-Canadian literature, one need only look at the statistics from Table 9 in Chapter Three outlining the twenty-one most frequently taught texts to realize that titles from the New Canadian Library series make up eleven of those top spots with two others being occupied by the previously mentioned anthologies published by Oxford University Press. Of the eight remaining titles, Green Grass, Running Water, In the Skin of a Lion, The English Patient, Fifth

Business, The Handmaid's Tale, Dry Lips Oughta Move to Kapuskasing, and Lives of Girls and Women, all cost under or around fifteen dollars. The low cost of series like the New Canadian Library and the Bibliothèque Québécoise give them a ubiquity in course reading lists that is hard, if not impossible, for any other Canadian publisher to achieve[22]. Moreover, their omnipresence and the seemingly official and inclusive titles of each series immediately bestow on their constituent texts an increased level of cultural capital and imply that those works have been chosen for the series because of their importance and not, as is so often the case, because the rights happened to be available. The price and cultural status of these texts, then, make them attractive choices for professors trying to assemble an ensemble of texts that is readily available, inexpensive, and helps them to achieve their own pedagogical objectives as well as those of the curriculum.

While I was initially quite interested in how the price of texts and their availability affected these choices, what became most intriguing to me with each interview was the strategies employed by professors as they tried to choose a group of texts that together would assist them in achieving their goals for the course. Among those I interviewed, the most important challenge they described facing when designing a curriculum for nearly any type of course was to achieve the widest coverage possible of the body of literature(s) they were teaching, whether it be the entirety of Canada's written and oral literatures produced since before first contact between Natives and Europeans or the Canadian novel in English published since 1970. The question of coverage, however, is not the same

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[22]The Bibliothèque Québécoise series, it is worth noting, is in fact a joint endeavour between three

when designing "Special topics" courses or those organized around the oeuvre of a particular author. It is far more difficult, in other words, to design either a broad introductory survey course that incorporates works from multiple genres, regions, and historical periods or even a course focusing on a specific genre or around a more narrow historical period. In many cases, when professors are trying to achieve this balance of coverage, they are first trying to respond to the parameters of the course as they have been established in the department curriculum. As many professors described to me, the richness and diversity of the literatures of Canada make such guidelines impossible to meet in any meaningful way.

One the one hand, choosing which texts to teach is a very personal matter, and the final selection does reflect on the interests and enthusiasms of the professor. Burke Cullen, who taught the University of Toronto's broad Canadian Literature survey course (English 252Y) in 1997-98, argues that decisions about coverage are still secondary to one's own aesthetic and political biases: "It does come down to a kind of personal choice based as much on one's own personal ideology and sensibility as, perhaps to a lesser degree, on one's moral sense on whether they're getting enough coverage of region, period, and male, female, and native [writers] and things like that" (Nov. 4, 1997). This very concern over coverage was echoed by many people I spoke to who, while lamenting sometimes the limitations it imposed upon their choices, felt strongly about the need to represent the diversity of Canadian literature. In many cases, professors view the issue of coverage as primarily one that relates to region, though with

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Québec publishers: les Éditions Fides, les Éditions Hurtubise HMH, and Leméac Éditeur.

many English departments disallowing the study of works in translation, courses in "Canadian literature" frequently do not include Québec. As Professor D.S. Hair from the University of Western Ontario told me, "I try to think in terms of regions and makes sure that I cover the Atlantic provinces [. . .]. Then Quebec just gets left out of this, of course. Then Ontario, the Prairie, and B.C.. I try to represent each of those regions and at least introduce the students to some of those regional differences" (Oct. 9, 1997). The situation at French universities in Québec, of course, is somewhat different because equivalent courses in Québec deal solely with French texts written there, thus enabling them to avoid, for the most part, any significant concern over regional representation. Instead they tend to focus more on, as we have seen with the description of the Université du Québec à Montréal's "Panorama de la littérature québécoise" course, the most important works, movements, and developments throughout their literary history.

In fact, most professors, whether anglophone or francophone who spoke to me of trying to achieve historical and regional coverage in their syllabi also reminded me that they also find it important to choose what they feel to be the great and/or most important works of the literatures of Canada. This type of focus on "the canon," as is demonstrated by the previous chapter's statistics on the most frequently taught books and authors, frequently privileges the significance of an author's oeuvre over the importance of a single text. While certain professors may prefer one author over another, it was clear from most of the subjects I interviewed, as it was as well from many department calendar descriptions of courses in the literatures of Canada, that they feel strongly about representing certain authors but are less particular about which works by that

author they teach. One can clearly see this pattern in action in this statement from one of my subjects: "So, I [teach] a Davies, a Laurence, a Munro, an Atwood. It would just be unthinkable, in a sense, to leave those people out. To other people, it's equally unthinkable to leave out Gallant, Findley, Ondaatje, and the list could go on." As is highly visible from the list of the most frequently taught titles, the books whose authors have not yet reached a status of having their works referred to as "a Thomas King" or "a Sinclair Ross" are sometimes included on courses because they have been recognized as being "canonical" in that they are singularly important works from an author's oeuvre or because they may have been the only title written by that author. More frequently, however, they are included because they fill very well one of the niches a professor is trying to represent, such as "the prairie novel" or "feminist writing." In this way, as I suggested earlier, while a text's canonical status is bolstered significantly by its presence on the reading lists for such courses, it does not necessarily get taught simply because it is (or is becoming) a canonical text.

4. The Politics of Representation

One of the more provocative questions I asked of professors was whether they felt "the need or a pressure to represent various cultural, ethnic, or language groups in your syllabus." While many argued that there was no external pressure to do so, the majority of them also suggested that they tried to achieve such "coverage" in their syllabus. One of the reasons cited for this was the desire to respond to the diversity of the campus. As York University professor John Lennox told me, "This campus is a United Nations. This campus is Canada present and Canada future and we need to pay attention to that" (Oct. 6, 1997).

Some were more successful in meeting these objectives than others, but most saw the curriculum and course structures as interfering with any way of covering works by many different constituencies. Citing the fact that, in the broader survey courses, they needed to cover the entire history of Canadian literature, they suggested time and again that there was little minority writing available to choose from that was not written quite recently and so that, by the time they got to that point in the course, there was only the possibility of adding a single text by a minority writer. The list of texts most frequently taught points very clearly to the fact that single texts are often used to fill this niche, with Joy Kogawa's Obasan being one of the prime examples. Tied with Moodie's Roughing it in the Bush and Ondaatje's In the Skin of the Lion – another text cited to me by professors as an example of their efforts at making a more multicultural syllabus – as the third most frequently taught text in the English courses on Canadian literature that I surveyed, Obasan frequently serves in these courses to represent the entirety of literature by writers of colour in Canada. One response to my question about representing various cultural groups that I received from a professor with no such writers represented on his survey course supports this notion even further: "I probably don't feel that [pressure] as much as I should. [. . .] In terms of ethnic diversity, no, I probably don't do enough of that. I know that there is some pressure to do that so I should be teaching Kogawa and... who else.... Sorry, my mind is a blank at the moment. I haven't done that."

The place of Native literature in such courses is equally revealing. In Québec, when I asked this question, I was told by everyone I interviewed that there is no significant body of written literature by Natives in Quebec, partly because of the small number who speak or write in French. "Il n'y pratiquement pas de

littérature des autochtones écrite en français," said Denis Saint-Jacques. "Pour le peu qui sont francophones, il n'y a presque personne qui écrivent." While Diane Boudreau's 1993 book Histoire de la littérature amérindienne au Québec: oralité et écriture proves that this is not entirely the case, the prevalence of this opinion stems partly from the attachment of the discipline in Québec to the notion of there being a single tradition of Québécois literature. Though this is changing gradually, this approach has led to the exclusion of the Native oral literatures and that which has been written in English by Québec writers from what could be a much broader understanding of the literature(s) of Québec. In English Canada, there is also a widespread attachment to the idea of a single tradition that has its origins in Britain and not North America. For this reason, the vast majority of survey courses and anthologies exclude any consideration of the oral tradition of Native peoples. This position was summarized for me very well by Professor Sam Solecki of the University of Toronto. In response to my question about whether he includes oral literature in his survey course, he responded,

> No . That's a hard one. If you're talking about tradition, you're talking about continuity rather than simple contiguity. And also linguistic continuity. [. . .] So, it's not a question of ignoring that heritage but seeing where it is part of the English or French traditions in literature. I don't see any point in historical overview of starting with English translations of Inuit and Aboriginal legends. They seem to me to be part of anthropology or ethnography. What I'm doing is a history of Canadian literature. So Thomas King, in a way, is part of that, whereas the legends -- to which, in fact, he has no access in the original because he doesn't read it -- aren't. (Oct. 8, 1997)

The mention here of Thomas King is also important because he, along with Tomson Highway, are the most frequently taught Native writers, as one can see from the places occupied on the list of most frequently taught texts by Green Grass, Running Water (tied, ironically enough, with Richardson's Wacousta as the second most frequently taught text) and Highway's plays Dry Lips Oughta Move to Kapuskasing (one of the three eighth most frequently taught texts) and The Rez Sisters (one of the tenth most frequently taught texts). With a few exceptions, these texts dominate the single place frequently allotted to Native writers in the English survey courses of Canadian literature. King's text is problematic for a number of reasons and not just the fact that he is only of part Native ancestry. The humour of the book, its constant theme of the collision between Native and non-Native cultures, its vast network of intertextual references, and the ease with which instructors and critics can mistakenly discuss it as a postmodern novel, make it a highly "teachable" Native text for white students and professors alike. One professor, for instance, described this very fact by saying that "Tom King's been the great gift to all of us" while another put it more bluntly that "I am so glad that Thomas King wrote Green Grass, Running Water because now there's finally a Native book I can teach."

The above examples illustrate the myriad problems inherent in this type of "coverage" in any type of literature course. It is inevitable that any text chosen to stand for the literature of a particular region, culture or language group, literary movement, or even an individual author will be a misrepresentation of the referent. In a passage from Cultural Capital that is equally applicable to this notion of coverage, John Guillory reminds us of how recent attempts to "open up" the canon encourage us to imagine a text as being representative of an

author's experience and that author's experience as somehow illustrative of the concerns of a social group:

> The sense in which a canonical author represents a dominant social group, or a noncanonical author a socially defined minority, is continuous with the sense in which the work is perceived to be immediately expressive of the author's *experience* as a representative member of some social group. The primacy of the social identity of the author in the pluralist critique of the canon means that the revaluation of works on this basis will inevitably seek its ground in the author's experience, conceived as the experience of a marginalized race, class, or gender identity. [. . .] The typical valorization of the noncanonical author's experience as a marginalized social identity necessarily reasserts the transparency of the text to the experience it represents. (10)

This sort of essentialism is also harmful in the way that it encourages many professors to focus on better representing the diversity of Canada rather than on covering the diversity of the literatures in this country. The preoccupation with issues of race, gender, or ethnic background serve very well to distract our attention from all the other aspects of the literatures of Canada excluded from the typical course offerings on the literatures of Canada. It is interesting to note in this regard that, while many people spoke of their efforts to provide better coverage of all of these issues, next to no one described endeavouring to make sure there was a better balance between genres and that marginalized forms like non-fiction, songs, experimental literature, or popular fiction had a place on their courses. In this same way, while many of both my anglophone and francophone interview subjects suggested to me that the strength and reputation of Canada's

female writers made gender coverage a non-issue, few people questioned what kinds of writing by women were being represented or made sure to include some works by feminist writers.

5. Cultural Nationalism and the Teaching of the Literatures of Canada

The final set of questions I asked directly addresses how professors envision the relationship between Canada (or Québec in the case of the French-language universities I visited) and courses that attempt to offer an understanding of its literature(s). I asked my subjects first if they believed that it was "possible to develop in your students a greater sense of Canada (or Québec) through teaching them about its literature" and then, if that was the case if they designed their syllabi "in such a way so as to facilitate this." My rationale for this when I departed on my trip was that I believed that the cultural nationalist approach of the 1960s and 1970s was still present, if not in the attitudes of the professors then in the curriculum itself. Interestingly, the constituency from whom I received the most consistent answers on this topic were the francophone professors teaching Québécois literature. Contrary to what one might expect, every one of them felt that the nationalistic impulse behind the study of Québécois literature was passé and that any understanding of Québec that students derived from the course, aside from understanding it to have a vibrant literary culture, was purely tangential to the main goals of the course. In English Canada, while there were quite varied responses to this question, roughly 60% of the professors I spoke to responded that this was not one of their main objectives when teaching the course. Ironically, many of these same people also argued strongly for the importance of representing the diversity of Canadian identity through their

courses, in part so that their increasingly diverse student body would see themselves reflected in the literature(s) of this country. Course descriptions also frequently support this approach, as does that from the University of British Columbia which states than in English 202 "all sections seek to represent varieties of cultural experiences within Canadian literature."

If, from studying the literatures of Canada, students do inevitably take away some sort of broader vision of their own country, however, the question that needs to be asked is how course structures and curriculum might affect this understanding. While we have already looked at the inherent problems with the notion of using single texts to represent, for instance, multicultural writing or the nineteenth-century novel, we must pay even greater attention to that which is omitted from courses altogether, often in the name of the "literary tradition." In all cases, avoiding these omissions would help students (and faculty) to develop a far more complex picture of the literatures of this country and how they interconnect, interact, and, in many cases, exist independently of the others. In Québec, the traditional lacunae in the curriculum have involved all that literature not written in French, though in terms of the inclusion of different genres the French-language universities in Québec are years ahead of their English counterparts. Even the exclusion of anglophone writing in the notion of the literature(s) of Québec is beginning to change with the work of professors such as the Université de Montréal's Pierre Nepveu and the Université Laval's François Dumont who both spoke to me of a growing interest and recognition for "la littérature québécoise anglaise."

In the English-language universities of Canada, there is far less diversity in terms of the genres considered to be worthy of literary study and this, therefore,

fosters a vision of the literatures of Canada that only includes fiction, poetry, and sometimes drama. The most crucial gap, however, involves the omission of literature originally written in French from most courses in "Canadian literature." In many cases, this is due primarily to policies in some departments of English that prohibit the teaching of works in translation, something many professors told me was both logical and natural. Such policies are tremendously problematic when one considers the fact that Canada is a literary space occupied by two major literatures, each written in a different language, and a significant number of other smaller ones. More troublesome is the degree to which the frequent lack of any translated French-Canadian or Québécois texts on English courses (re)produces the impression that "Canadian literature" is comprised entirely of literature written in English. Such a limited perspective is remarkably useful to have when trying to articulate a vision of there being a Canadian or Québécois literary tradition; as Guillory states, though, "one should always bear in mind that the concept of a given tradition is much more revealing about the immediate context in which the tradition is defined than it is about the works retroactively so organized" (Guillory 34).

One of the other primary reasons that Québécois texts in translation rarely make it into courses on "Canadian literature" is that there is so little space for it in the small proportion of the overall English curriculum devoted to Canadian literature. Many professors I spoke to justified their exclusion of literature in translation by questioning what they would have to leave out in order to accommodate it. This is precisely what University of Toronto's John O'Connor, who in fact has a Masters degree in Comparative Canadian Literature from the

Université de Sherbrooke, describes as being one of his reasons for leaving out translated works:

> I would be a natural in my department to be teaching a lot of French-Canadian lit in translation as part of my course. Of course, there's still the problem of numbers. If I bring in Gabrielle Roy and Yves Beauchemin, who do I kick off? Richler and Maclennan? This is an English Department after all, and with the material being as rich and diverse as it is, I don't have any problem coming up with twelve good English-Canadian books. So, that for me, right away, is the way I decide. (Oct.7, 1997)

For most people, however, the question of turf war or room on the course list is a convenient excuse for not envisioning "Canadian literature" as a body of literature containing more than one tradition. As Dennis Duffy, also a University of Toronto professor of English, admitted to me,

> There's no doubt about it that I would be challenged if that whole turf war thing were taken away. All I can say in my own defense is that it's a challenge that I hope I would respond to. [. . .] I'd be up against the limitations of my own training in that I could not teach technique with any great skill. The course would have to be pretty much thematic. That would be a real limitation and I'd be really worried. (Oct.7, 1997)

The issue of training is an important one, of course, as the vast majority of students graduating with English degrees, whether it is a BA or a PhD, will leave never having been exposed to any literature from Québec that was originally written in French. By excluding it from the curriculum, the English department becomes an effective site of institutional and cultural reproduction, of which the chief aim of course is to ensure the hegemony of the dominant cultural power.

The inequities, oversimplifications, and gaps in the studies of the literatures of Canada – whether in the more prominent cases in English courses in "Canadian Literature" or courses in "Littérature Québécoise" at French-language universities in Québec or New Brunswick – are all rooted in the curriculum and how it insidiously shapes our knowledge of our own literatures. The failure in English Canada to achieve a greater proportional representation for the literatures of Canada in English departments has led, in many cases, professors to try to fit an increasingly diverse body of work into the same structures that we had for them thirty years ago. Frank Davey's explanation of how this has led to an almost complete omission of literature in translation in such courses offers an interesting perspective on how these limited parameters affect the production of knowledge:

> Another thing that has happened is that anglophone Canadian women's writing, Native peoples' writing, lesbian feminist writing, writing by people of colour, writing affected by ethnicity in English – all of these things compete with the francophone. So it used to be that the other in anglophone Canadian literature was Québec. In the 1970s, that's what it was. It was francophone Québec writing. That was the other. It was something exotic, something you could attend to, something you could construct as an entity which would illuminate by contrast the anglophone work you were studying. Now that role of the other is filled by writing by Rohinton Mistry, by Joseph Skvorecky, by Daphne Marlatt, Gail Scott, by Maria Campbell. (Oct. 10, 1997)

Of course, as we have seen, one can rarely fit more than one of these "others" into a typical survey course. What is most troubling about this is that, while

some professors, such as Frank Davey, actually take the time to consider how this has occurred, even fewer try to envision a way out of this dilemma. Most, rather, try to envision ways of doing more with less and, thus, wind up representing the nineteenth century with a single text by Susanna Moodie or Catherine Parr Traill, multicultural writing with Obasan, and Native writing in Canada with Thomas King or Tomson Highway. It will not be until we as Canadianists look to what has been accomplished in Québec and demand a greater place in the English curriculum and the ability for students to specialize in the study of our own literatures, that we will ever be able to mind the gaps, let alone mend them.

Afterword:

New Ways to "Here"

"'History,' Stephen said, 'is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake.'"

- James Joyce, Ulysses

As with any PhD dissertation, there is far more that I would have liked to discuss than I was able to due to the limits of available time and space. There are at least several books that could and perhaps will be written solely from the wealth of information I gathered in my interviews with professors of the literatures of Canada. With over one hundred hours worth of tapes from which to work, I was unable to utilize more than a fraction of these conversations in this dissertation. Future work on this topic could include, therefore, a far more detailed analysis of these taped interviews, not to mention follow up interviews about other areas that I chose not to ask about in my initial questions. In order to understand more about the literary institution and the teaching of the Canadian literatures, one of the next steps to undertake would be for me or someone else to have professors and their students complete detailed questionnaires that would perhaps give us a broader understanding of their respective attitudes toward teaching and learning, the canon, and the literatures of Canada. Of particular importance would also be questions asked of students for which the responses

could reveal a great deal about what students take away with them from a literature class, for this is inevitably different from what the professor may expect. It would also be of value to collect course descriptions from across a time span larger than a single academic year. While the approach of looking at a single year has been very effective here in giving us a snapshot of the state of the teaching of the literatures of Canada in the Canadian university system(s), it would have also been useful to have a more thorough documentation of how this has or has not changed over time.

What might seem today to be a shortcoming of this project is that the data I collected in 1997-98 is now already four years old and, thus, likely out of date. Unfortunately for the state of the discipline, however, it is not. While there have been some minor changes to course and curriculum structures at a few of the universities I visited, several retirements and a few new hirings in the field, and the occasional, recently-published work included in courses, there appear to have been no changes – nor contemplation of any – that would address the fundamental problems with the teaching of the literatures of Canada that I have highlighted here. The nature of the university system, departmental structures, and, with a few notable exceptions, the extraordinary lack of curricular diversity make such change unlikely. The only change that seems to occur follows the model described by Charles B. Harris in his 1988 article "Canonical Variations and the English Curriculum":

> In cold political terms, the votes necessary for a thorough restructuring of the curriculum are not there yet. It is far more practical and, at least in the short run, probably more effective to wage the curricular battle in guerilla fashion by adding a course in theory here, a course in women's studies

> there and by unofficially redesigning traditionally described courses by teaching them in theoretically up-to-date ways. (6)

There are certainly a number of professors I interviewed who would recognize in Harris' recommendation their own teaching practices and efforts at promoting curricular change. As discussed in chapter two, however, this type of seemingly underground resistance to the curriculum is not only accepted by the institution but welcomed by it as it helps to prevent or at least postpone any change that could radically reshape its power structure. For cultural and institutional reproduction to take place, then, such resistance is accommodated in such a way that the institution can see itself as being accepting of change, while in reality it changes very little.

I hope, nevertheless, that in some small way this dissertation works to point out some of the bolder paths we might take to alter in a fundamental way the place of the literatures of Canada in this country's various departments of literature. As I have mentioned at a number of points, the contrast between the directions taken by the French-language universities in Québec (and the Université de Moncton) and those taken by English-language universities in Canada should be a revelation to scholars working in either language. Perhaps the most crucial of these differences is the greater proportion of courses on littérature québécoise and littérature acadienne offered at the former compared with those offered in English-Canadian literature at the latter. Of equal importance to the proportion, of course, is the variety and again the French-language universities in this country far outperform their English counterparts. The proportion and variety of such courses are important for two reasons. First, they allow students an opportunity to learn more about these literatures than

they would by having a choice of one or two courses that frequently cover the entirety of English-Canada's literary history in one year. Second, by offering faculty a chance to teach a wider variety of courses in their field, courses that are far more specialized than a multi-genre, multi-period survey course, such a curriculum invariably results in a larger, more diverse canon and a greater amount of research in these fields that might otherwise be neglected if they did not correspond in some way to the curriculum. The other marked difference between the two sets of universities is that there is a far greater diversity between the literature curricula of the three largest French-language universities, the Université Laval, the Université de Montréal, and the Université du Québec à Montréal, than among any English departments in the country. While there is obviously a huge variation between the number and variety of English courses one might be able to choose from at the University of Prince Edward Island compared to the University of British Columbia, the curriculum at each institution essentially follows the same field coverage model in which an Honours or specializing student takes courses covering the major periods of British literary history along with what are not always required courses in American and Canadian literature. The range of courses and differences in the curriculum available at the aforementioned French language universities mean that an undergraduate student has the option of choosing a department, such as the Université du Québec à Montréal's Département d'études littéraires, whose curriculum is most closely alligned with her or his interests. This, again, contributes to the growth of a wide range of knowledge and approaches to literature.

Creating the infrastructure required for a greater exploration of Québécois literature through an organization like the Centre de recherche en littérature québécoise at the Université Laval has also resulted in an extraordinary amount of research done on, for instance, the literary history of Québec. When one looks at the type of research that has been done by CRELIQ and its central role in the community of scholars of Québécois literature, it is clear that those who study any or all of the literatures of Canada would benefit endlessly from having access to such an organization and the research it would generate. One of the primary obstacles to the creation of a Centre for Research in the Literatures of Canada, however, has been the distinct lack of a perceived need of such an institution. One cannot help but attribute this attitude to the lack of awareness among scholars of English Canadian literature of how the literature(s) of Québec are studied in Québec. This ignorance, in both scholarly communities, stems primarily from the misperception that the "two literatures" are of no relation to one another and thus have little reason to be considered simultaneously. It is clear, however, that there is no neat and seamless boundary between the two and that the assumption of some sort of unity to each literature is erroneous. What makes all the literatures of Canada worthy of study together in some form or another is the fact that each responds somehow to a common geography; a shared – if not agreed upon – history and system of government; the experiences and interactions of this country's immigrants, long-term residents, and original peoples; and concerns that are related to our national identities and our relation(s) to the world.

Ultimately, however, I am not advocating a wholly integrationist approach to the study of the literatures of Canada at every university in the country or an all-

out shift towards the model of Comparative Canadian literature. There are many valid reasons for studying the literatures of Québec and English Canada entirely independently of one another. What I am calling for, however, is a greater effort to understanding Canada as a highly complex literary space in which there are virtually no literatures and elements of the literary institution that do not interact in some way with the others. A movement in this direction is something that could best be achieved by the establishment of at least one Department of Canadian Literatures at a Canadian university which would be comprised of faculty who would otherwise be separated in different departments including those of French, English, or Native Studies. As scholars like François Dumont begin to reimagine "littérature québécoise" as including the works of anglophone writers from Québec, so too is there much to be gained from broadening our understanding of Prairie literature(s), for instance, to include writers like Gabrielle Roy, Marguérite A. Primeau, or immigrant writers like Stephan G. Stephansson who wrote and published in their native languages. As I have shown, our tendency to do otherwise, to oversimplify this extraordinarily interesting complexity of our literary past, present, and future, serves many purposes, not the least of which is to reinforce and reproduce the arbitrary boundaries placed around literary knowledge through the creation of separate departments of French and departments of English. By ignoring how detrimental these divisions are to our conception of the literatures of our own country, we close ourselves off to the rich and unique nature of Canada as a literary space.

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Appendix 1:

Universities visited, course offerings in the literatures of Canada in 1997-98, and instructors interviewed

University	University of Calgary
Province	Alberta
Department	Department of English
Year	1997-98
Total courses	49
Canadian literature courses	4
Canadian content	8.2%
Total sections	72
Canadian literature sections	4
Canadian content	5.6%
Different Canadian literature courses	4
Canadian literature required for major	no
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	no
Professors interviewed	Davis, R.C. Buss, Helen
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	English 370-01: Canadian Literature English 509.3: Studies in Can. Lit.: 19th C. Can. Lit. in English English 509.4: Studies in Can. Lit.: M. Laurence and war

University	University of Alberta
Department	Department of English
Province	Alberta
Year	1997-98
Total courses	51 fce
Canadian literature courses	5.5
Canadian content	10.8%
Total sections	n/a
Canadian literature sections	7.5 fce
Canadian content	?
Different Canadian literature courses	9
Canadian literature required for major	no
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	yes

Professors interviewed	Bracken, Christopher Gittings, Chris Hjartarson, Paul Williamson, Janice
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	English 271 (1): Canadian Lit.: Major Writers and Movements English 271 (2): Canadian Lit.: Major Writers and Movements English 372: Canadian Literature from 1925 English 373: Canadian Poetry to 1925 English 374: Canadian Literature 1925-1960 English 376 (1): Canadian Literature from 1960 English 376 (2): Canadian Literature from 1960 English 376 (3): Canadian Literature from 1960 English 377: Canadian Drama English 475 (1): St. in Can. Prose: The Theoretical Analysis of Narrative English 475 (2): St. in Can. Prose: English 478: Regional Lit. of Canada: West of Where? Contemp. Western Canadian Women's Cultural Work

University	**University of Alberta**
Department	Dept. of Mod. Languages and Comparative Studies
Province	Alberta
Year	1997-98
Total courses	21
Canadian literature courses	4
Canadian content	19.0%
Total sections	25
Canadian literature sections	4
Canadian content	16.0%
Different Canadian literature courses	4
Canadian literature required for major	no
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	no
Professors interviewed	Blodgett, E.D.
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	Comparative Lit. 171: Intro. to the Comp. Study of the Can. Literatures I Comparative Lit. 172: Intro to the Comp. Study of the Can. Literatures II Comparative Lit. 372: Intro. to the Comp. Studies of Can. Prose Comparative Lit. 472: Advanced Studies in

	Comparative Canadian Prose

University	University of British Columbia
Department	Department of English
Province	British Columbia
Year	1997-98
Total courses	45.5 fce
Canadian literature courses	4.5 fce
Canadian content	9.9%
Total sections	137.5 fce
Canadian literature sections	13 fce
Canadian content	9.5%
Different Canadian literature courses	8
Canadian literature required for major	no
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	no
Professors interviewed	New, W.H. Fee, Margery Wasserman, Jerry Cavell, Richard Grace, Sherrill Ricou, Laurie Hatch, R. Weir, Lorraine Kroller, Eva-Marie
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	English 202/001: Introduction to Canadian Literature English 202/003: Introduction to Canadian Literature English 202/004: Introduction to Canadian Literature English 202/005: Introduction to Canadian Literature English 202/006: Introduction to Canadian Literature English 202/007: Introduction to Canadian Literature English 202/701: Introduction to Canadian Literature English 360: St. in Can. Lit.: Representations of the Indian English 420/001: Canadian Literature English 420/002: Canadian Literature English 421: Canadian Poetry English 423A: Canadian Drama English 424/001: Canadian Novel English 424/002: Canadian Novel English 425/001: Canadian Short Fiction E nglish 425/002: Canadian Short Fiction English 426B: St. in Can. Lit.: Orality and Literacy in Canadian Cultural Studies

	English 429B: Backgrounds of Canadian Literature

University	[illegible]
Department	Department of English
Province	British Columbia
Year	1997-98
Total courses	56
Canadian literature courses	5
Canadian content	8.9%
Total sections	97
Canadian literature sections	8
Canadian content	8.2%
Different Canadian literature courses	5
Canadian literature required for major	yes
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	yes
Professors interviewed	Bowering, George Miki, Roy Gerson, Carole Stouck, David St. Pierre, Paul
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	English 354: Canadian Literature to 1920 English 357 (1): Canadian Literature Since 1920 English 357 (2): Canadian Literature Since 1920 English 359 (1): Literature of British Columbia English 359 (2): Literature of British Columbia English 360: St. in Can. Lit.: Representations of the Indian English 360 (2): Studies in Canadian Literature English 394: World Lit. in English II: Contemporary Asian Canadian Cultural/Textual Production

University	University of [illegible]
Department	Department of English
Province	British Columbia
Year	1997-98
Total courses	36.5 fce
Canadian literature courses	5.5 fce
Canadian content	15.1%
Total sections	54 fce
Canadian literature sections	5.5 fce

Canadian content	10.2%
Different Canadian literature courses	9
Canadian literature required for major	yes
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	yes
Professors interviewed	Vautier, Marie Smith, Nelson Scobie, Stephen
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	English 202 (UVIC): An Introduction to Canadian Literature English 448: Special Studies in Can. Lit.: Contemp. Can. Drama English 450: Modern Canadian Fiction: I English 451: Modern Canadian Fiction: II English 452: Modern Canadian Poetry: I English 453: Modern Canadian Poetry II English 457: Traditions in Canadian Literature English 458/French 487: Comparative Studies in French and Engl. Can. Lit. English 459: Early Canadian Prose Literature

University	**University of Winnipeg**
Department	Department of English
Province	Manitoba
Year	1997-98
Total courses	30
Canadian literature courses	4
Canadian content	13.3%
Total sections	47
Canadian literature sections	6
Canadian content	12.8%
Different Canadian literature courses	4
Canadian literature required for major	no
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	yes
Professors interviewed	Besner, Neil Jewison, Don
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	English 17.3713: Contexts in Canadian Literature English 17.4712: Topics in Canadian Literature English 17.2116/001: Canadian Children's Literature English 17.2116/002: Canadian Children's Literature English 17.2116/003: Canadian Children's Literature

	English 17.4341: Individual Author I: Jane Rule

University	[illegible]
Department	Department of English
Province	Manitoba
Year	1997-98
Total courses	19 fce
Canadian literature courses	3.5
Canadian content	18.4%
Total sections	46.5 fce
Canadian literature sections	4 fce
Canadian content	8.6%
Different Canadian literature courses	5
Canadian literature required for major	no
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	no
Professors interviewed	Arnason, David Cooley, Dennis Lenoski, D.S. Neijmann, Daisy Johnson, Chris
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	English 4.288 (A): Canadian Lit. pre-1967 English 4.288 (B): Canadian Lit. pre-1967 English 4.388: Prairie literature English 4.289: Canadian Lit. post-1967: "The Postmodern Novel in Canada" English 4.479: 20th C Short fiction: Cdn. stories in World Contexts English 4.290: Genre - Canadian Drama

University	University of New Brunswick - Fredericton
Department	Department of English
Province	New Brunswick
Year	1997-98
Total courses	35
Canadian literature courses	1
Canadian content	2.9%
Total sections	n/a
Canadian literature sections	1
Canadian content	?
Different Canadian literature	1

courses	
Canadian literature required for major	no
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	no
Professors interviewed	Steele, Tony
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	English 3610: Canadian Prose and Poetry

University	[illegible]
Department	Département d'études françaises
Province	New Brunswick
Year	1997-98
Total courses	9 fce
Canadian literature courses	3.5 fce
Canadian content	38.9%
Total sections	9 fce
Canadian literature sections	3.5 fce
Canadian content	38.9%
Different Canadian literature courses	7
Canadian literature required for major	yes
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	
Professors interviewed	Boudreau, Raoul Morency, Jean
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	FR 2291: Panorama de la littérature canadienne-française FR 2671: Folklore acadien I FR 3206: Essai québécois FR 3285: Théâtre et roman acadiens FR 3672: Folklore acadien II FR 4254: Roman québécois jusqu'en '39 FR 4263: Poésie québécoise de 1939 à nos jours

University	Memorial University
Department	Dept. of English Language and Lit.
Province	Newfoundland
Year	1997-98
Total courses	34
Canadian literature courses	5
Canadian content	14.7%

Total sections	42
Canadian literature sections	5
Canadian content	11.9%
Different Canadian literature courses	5
Canadian literature required for major	no
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	yes
Professors interviewed	Balisch, L. Faith Golfman, Noreen Legge, Valerie Lynde, Denyse Mathews, Lawrence Wallace, Ronald
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	English 2150: Modern Canadian Fiction English 2160: North American Native Literature English 3155: Newfoundland Literature English 3156: Modern Canadian Drama English 4821: Canadian Literature in Context I English 4822: Can. Lit in Context II: The Politics of Culture/Identity and Canadian Literature: Ideologies, 'Isms' and 'Others'

[illegible]	[illegible]
Department	Department of English
Province	Nova Scotia
Year	1997-98
Total courses	33
Canadian literature courses	3
Canadian content	9.1%
Total sections	36
Canadian literature sections	3
Canadian content	8.3%
Different Canadian literature courses	3
Canadian literature required for major	no
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	no
Professors interviewed	Davies, Gwen Davies, Richard Smyth, Donna Thompson, Hilary
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	English 2563: Canadian Literature 1 English 2573: Canadian Literature 2: Modernism to

	Post-Modernism English 3903: Canadian Children's Literature

[illegible]	[illegible]
Department	Department of English
Province	Nova Scotia
Year	1997-98
Total courses	26
Canadian literature courses	2
Canadian content	7.7%
Total sections	26
Canadian literature sections	2
Canadian content	7.7%
Different Canadian literature courses	2
Canadian literature required for major	no
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	no
Professors interviewed	Monk, Patricia Wainwright, A.
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	English 4357R: Modern Canadian Literature English 2207R: Canadian Literature

[illegible]	[illegible]
Department	Department of English
Province	Ontario
Year	1997-98
Total courses	74
Canadian literature courses	9
Canadian content	12.2%
Total sections	84
Canadian literature sections	9
Canadian content	10.7%
Different Canadian literature courses	9
Canadian literature required for major	no
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	no
Professors interviewed	Early, Len Goldie, Terry Hopkins, Elizabeth

	Lennox, John Zeifman, Hersh Thomas, Clara
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	English 2450: Canadian Literature English 3160A: Canadian Drama English 3340: Modern Canadian Fiction English 3350: Modern Canadian Poetry English 4270A: The Canadian Short Story English 4270B: Beginnings of Canadian Literature English 3430A: Studies in Women Writers: Cdn. Women Writers English 3440: Post-Colonial Writing in Canada English 4270C: Studies in Cdn. Lit.: Poetry

[illegible]	[illegible]
Department	Department of English
Province	Ontario
Year	1997-98
Total courses	67
Canadian literature courses	7
Canadian content	10.4%
Total sections	128 fce
Canadian literature sections	9 fce
Canadian content	7.0%
Different Canadian literature courses	8
Canadian literature required for major	yes
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	yes
Professors interviewed	Brandeis, R Brown, Russell Duffy, Dennis Murray, Heather O'Connor, John Podnieks, Elizabeth Cullen, A. Solecki, Sam
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	English 215S: The Canadian Short Story English 216Y: 20th C Canadian Fiction L0101 English 216Y: 20th C Canadian Fiction L0201 English 216Y: 20th C Canadian Fiction L0301 English 216Y: 20th C Canadian Fiction L5101 English 252Y: Canadian Literature L0101 English 252Y: Canadian Literature L5101 English 350F: Early Canadian Literature English 350F: Topics in Canadian Literature English 430F: Studies in a Canadian Writer L0101

	English 431S: Studies in a Canadian Writer L5101 English 431S: Studies in a Canadian Writer L5101 (Michael Ondaatje)

University	McMaster University
Department	Department of English
Province	Ontario
Year	1997-98
Total courses	54
Canadian literature courses	5
Canadian content	9.3%
Total sections	63
Canadian literature sections	7
Canadian content	11.1%
Different Canadian literature courses	5
Canadian literature required for major	
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	
Professors interviewed	Coleman, Daniel King, James York, Lorraine
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	English 4TF3: Timothy Findley and the Construction of Masculinities English 2K6/WS 2K6: Women and Literature: Contemporary African-Canadian Women Writers English 2G06A: Canadian Literature English 2G06B: Canadian Literature English 4GM3: Canadian Fictions of Gender and Migration English 4ML3: Margaret Laurence English 2G06C: Canadian Literature

University	University of Western Ontario
Department	Department of English
Province	Ontario
Year	1997-98
Total courses	64
Canadian literature courses	8
Canadian content	12.5%
Total sections	n/a
Canadian literature sections	11

Canadian content	?
Different Canadian literature courses	8
Canadian literature required for major	no
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	no
Professors interviewed	Davey, Frank Hair, D.S. Zezulka, J Bentley, DMR Tausky, Tom Dragland, Stan
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	English 274E (1): Canadian Literature English 160E: Contemporary Canadian Literature English 274E (2): Canadian Literature English 474F: Canadian Gothic English 274E (3): Canadian Literature English 296G: First Nations Theatre English 287G: Canadian Drama English 475F: Jung & the Fiction of Robertson Davies English 475G: Cultural Memory in Canada, 1759-1997 English 476G: Archetypal Patterns in the Fiction of Margaret Atwood English 274E (4): Canadian Literature

University	**Queen's University**
Department	Dept. of English Language and Literature
Province	Ontario
Year	1997-98
Total courses	39
Canadian literature courses	2
Canadian content	5.1%
Total sections	56
Canadian literature sections	3
Canadian content	5.4%
Different Canadian literature courses	2
Canadian literature required for major	no
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	no
Professors interviewed	Willmott, Glen Soderlind, Sylvia

Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	English 283: Contemporary Canadian Literature English 380 (A): Literature and Culture in Canada English 380 (B): Literature and Culture in Canada

University	**University of Ottawa**
Department	Department of English
Province	Ontario
Year	1997-98
Total courses	48
Canadian literature courses	5
Canadian content	10.4%
Total sections	65
Canadian literature sections	10
Canadian content	15.4%
Different Canadian literature courses	5
Canadian literature required for major	no
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	yes
Professors interviewed	Hallett, David Mayne, Seymour Lynch, Gerald Staines, David
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	English 2400A: Introduction to Canadian Literature English 2400B: Introduction to Canadian Literature English 2400C: Introduction to Canadian Literature English 2400D: Introduction to Canadian Literature English 3321A: The Canadian Short Story English 3386A: Canadian Fiction of the 20th Century to Mid-Century English 3387A: Canadian fiction of the 20th C. since mid-century English 4182: Seminar: 'Jargoning City': A.M. Klein's Montreal and its poetic solitudes English 3321B: Canadian Short Story English 3387B: Canadian Fiction of the 20th Century Since Mid-Century

University	**Carleton University**
Department	Dept. of English Language and Lit.
Province	Ontario
Year	1997-98

Total courses	38
Canadian literature courses	6
Canadian content	15.8%
Total sections	64
Canadian literature sections	9
Canadian content	14.1%
Different Canadian literature courses	6
Canadian literature required for major	yes
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	yes
Professors interviewed	Steele, James Ruffo, Armand Padolsky, Enoch McDonald, Larry Edwards, Mary Jane
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	English 18.282A: Canadian Literature English 18.282B: Canadian Literature English 18.282C: Canadian Literature English 18.282D: Canadian Literature English 18.383A: Canadian Fiction English 18.482: St. in Can. Ethnic Minority Lit. English 18.486A: Studies in Canadian Literature I English 18.487A: Studies in Canadian Literature II English 18.488: Can. Writing & the Lit. of the First Nations

University	**University of Prince Edward Island**
Department	Department of English
Province	Prince Edward Island
Year	1997-98
Total courses	41
Canadian literature courses	2
Canadian content	4.9%
Total sections	n/a
Canadian literature sections	2
Canadian content	?
Different Canadian literature courses	2
Canadian literature required for major	no
Canadian literature required	yes

for honours or specialisation	
Professors interviewed	Gammel, Irene Lemm, Richard MacLaine, Brent
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	English 322: English-Canadian Poetry English 492: L.M. Montgomery

University	**McGill University**
Department	Department of English
Province	Québec
Year	1997-98
Total courses	36
Canadian literature courses	8
Canadian content	22.2%
Total sections	40
Canadian literature sections	8
Canadian content	20.0%
Different Canadian literature courses	8
Canadian literature required for major	yes
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	yes
Professors interviewed	Lecker, Robert Trehearne, Brian Rimstead, Roxanne
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	English 110-228A: Canadian Literature I English 110-229B: Canadian Literature II English 110-328D: The Development of Can. Poetry English 110-391B: Special Topics in Cultural St. (Autobiographies, Oral Histories, and Cultural Memory in Canada) English 110-410B: St. in a Theme or Mvmt. in Can. Lit. (Klein, Layton, Cohen) English 110-411B: St. in Can. Fiction (Multicultural Fictions) English 110-414A: St. in 20th C. Lit. I (Can. novel) English 110-460A: St. in Lit. Theory (Native Voices and Images of Natives in Canada)

University	**Université du Québec à Montréal**
Department	Département d'études littéraires
Province	Québec
Year	1997-98
Total courses	76

Canadian literature courses	14
Canadian content	18.4%
Total sections	76
Canadian literature sections	14
Canadian content	18.4%
Different Canadian literature courses	14
Canadian literature required for major	yes
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	
Professors interviewed	Andrès, Bernard Robert, Lucie Roy, Max
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	LIT 1035: Canadian Literature LIT 1060: Québec literature in English LIT 1605: Panorama de la littérature québécoise LIT 200A: Auteurs québécois en littérature de jeunesse LIT 252R: Corpus d'auteur: Jacques Brault LIT 3310: Essai québécois LIT 3412: Dramaturgie québécoise LIT 3430: Textes littéraires québécois et didactique LIT 351S: Séminaire: Naissance de l'écrivain québécois LIT 351V: Séminaire: Hubert Aquin ou l'écriture de l'inavouable LIT 3710: Écoles et mouvements littéraires au Québec LIT 4195: Chanson québécoise LIT 4230: Poésie québécoise LIT 4235: Poésie québécoise contemporaine

University	**Concordia University**
Department	Department of English
Province	Québec
Year	1997-98
Total courses	37 fce
Canadian literature courses	3 fce
Canadian content	8.1%
Total sections	89.5 fce
Canadian literature sections	6 fce
Canadian content	6.7%
Different Canadian literature courses	5

Canadian literature required for major	no
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	yes
Professors interviewed	Groening, Laura
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	English 290/3 01: Canadian Literature: Survey English 290/3 A: Canadian Literature: Survey English 290/3 AA: Canadian Literature: Survey English 371/2 01: Postwar Canadian Fiction English 371/2 AA: Postwar Canadian Fiction English 372/4 01: Contemporary Canadian Fiction English 372/4 AA: Contemporary Canadian Fiction English 375/3 Modern Canadian Poetry and its Roots English 470J/4: Nation and Genre (Honours Seminar)

University	**Université de Montréal**
Department	Département d'études françaises
Province	Québec
Year	1997-98
Total courses	48
Canadian literature courses	12
Canadian content	25.0%
Total sections	48
Canadian literature sections	12
Canadian content	25.0%
Different Canadian literature courses	12
Canadian literature required for major	yes
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	yes
Professors interviewed	Godin, Jean Cléo Nepveu, Pierre

Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	FRA 1602: Classiques de la poésie québécoise FRA 1603: Classiques du roman québécois FRA 1700D: La littérature québécoise depuis 1960 (télévisé) FRA 2604: Nouvelle et conte québécois FRA 2605: Écrits de la Nouvelle France FRA 2608: Poésie québécoise 1 (autour de Jacques Brault) FRA 2611: Roman québécois 1 (Réjean Ducharme) FRA 2614: Théâtre québécois FRA 2615: Questions de la littérature québécoise (Lectures de Saint-Denys Garneau) FRA 3024: Questions d'histoire littéraire (posées à la littérature québécoise) FRA 3823: Auteurs québécois 2 (Jacques Ferron) FRA 3861: Littérature du Québec: groupes culturels (L'écriture juive et l'espace montréalais)

University	Université de Sherbrooke
Department	Département des Lettres et Communications
Province	Québec
Year	1997-98
Total courses	
Canadian literature courses	
Canadian content	
Total sections	
Canadian literature sections	
Canadian content	
Different Canadian literature courses	
Canadian literature required for major	yes
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	yes
Professors interviewed	Sutherland, Ronald Siemerling, Winfried Reid, Greg Giguere, Richard
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	

University	[illegible]
Department	Département de littératures
Province	Québec
Year	1997-98
Total courses	35
Canadian literature courses	8
Canadian content	22.9%
Total sections	35
Canadian literature sections	8
Canadian content	22.9%
Different Canadian literature courses	8
Canadian literature required for major	yes
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	
Professors interviewed	Beaudet, Marie-Andrée Dumont, François Sabor, Peter Saint-Jacques, Denis
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	FRN-10705: Roman, conte, et nouvelle du Québec (XXe siècle) - Jacques Poulin FRN-10706: Roman, conte, et nouvelle du Québec (XXe siècle) - L'image de l'autochtone dans le roman FRN-10716: Poésie et chanson du Québec (XXe siècle) - La chanson québécoise FRN-10717: Poésie et chanson du Québec (XXe siècle): La génération de l'Hexagone FRN-10729: Essai du Québec (XXe siècle) - L'essai depuis 1960 FRN-18633 - Vie Littéraire du Québec (XIXe siècle) - La littérature intime au XIXe siècle FRN-18639: Littératures du Québec et de la France - La science-fiction en France et au Québec FRN-20492: Littérature québécoise de 1934 à nos jours

University	[illegible]
Department	Department of English
Province	Saskatchewan
Year	1997-98
Total courses	40
Canadian literature courses	5
Canadian content	12.5%
Total sections	43
Canadian literature sections	6
Canadian content	14.0%
Different Canadian literature courses	5
Canadian literature required for major	no
Canadian literature required for honours or specialisation	no
Professors interviewed	Beddoes, Julie Denham, P Zichy, F
Courses on the literatures of Canada offered in 1997/98	English 251.6: Canadian Poetry in English English 253.6 (01): Canadian Literature in English English 253.6 (02): Canadian Literature in English English 259.3: Western Canadian Literature English 466.3: Topics in 20th Century Can. Lit.: The Canadian Short Story in English English 488.3: Topics in Genre and Contexts of Literature: Canadian Literature of Exploration

Appendix 2:

Texts taught in English and Comparative Literature courses on the literatures of Canada (ranked by frequency)

Title	Author	Occurrences
As For Me and My House	Ross, Sinclair	20
Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town	Leacock, Stephen	20
Anthology of Canadian Literature in English (1 vol.)	Bennett, Donna and Brown, Russell	20
Wacousta	Richardson, J	16
Green Grass, Running Water	King, Thomas	16
Roughing it in the Bush	Moodie, Susanna	15
Obasan	Kogawa, Joy	15
In the Skin of a Lion	Ondaatje, Michael	15
Diviners, The	Laurence, Margaret	14
Imperialist, The	Duncan, Sara Jeanette	14
15 Canadian Poets x 2	Geddes, Gary (ed.)	14
English Patient, The	Ondaatje, Michael	13
coursepack of other photocopied readings		13
Double Hook, The	Watson, Sheila	12
Fifth Business	Davies, Robertson	11
Mountain and the Valley, The	Buckler, Ernest	10
Handmaid's Tale, The	Atwood, Margaret	10
Dry Lips Oughta Move to Kapuskasing	Highway, Tomson	10
Stone Angel, The	Laurence, Margaret	9
Surfacing	Atwood, Margaret	9
Lives of Girls and Women	Munro, Alice	9
Tay John	O'Hagan, Howard	9
Rez Sisters, The	Tomson Highway	8
Settlers of the Marsh	Grove, Frederick Philip	8
Journals of Susanna Moodie, The	Atwood, Margaret	8
Disappearing Moon Café	Lee, Sky	8
Canadian Poetry From the Beginnings through WW1	Gerson, Carole and Gwen Davies (eds.)	8
Strange Manuscript Found in a Copper Cylinder, A	De Mille, James	7
Wars, The	Findley, Timothy	7
Who Do You Think You Are?	Munro, Alice	7

Title	Author	Occurrences
Famous Last Words	Findley, Timothy	7
Not Wanted on the Voyage	Findley, Timothy	7
Lady Oracle	Atwood, Margaret	7
Clockmaker, The	Haliburton, T.C.	6
La Guerre, Yes Sir!	Carrier, Roch	6
Ana Historic	Marlatt, Daphne	6
Arcadian Adventures with the Idle Rich	Leacock, Stephen	6
Swamp Angel	Wilson, Ethel	6
Wild Geese	Ostenso, Martha	6
Jest of God, A	Laurence, Margaret	6
Fire-Dwellers, The	Laurence, Margaret	6
Studhorse Man, The	Kroetsch, Robert	6
Stone Diaries, The	Shields, Carol	6
Collected Works of Billy the Kid, The	Ondaatje, Michael	5
Sacrifice, The	Wiseman, Adele	5
Watch that Ends the Night, The	MacLennan, Hugh	5
Tin Flute, The	Roy, Gabrielle	5
Medicine River	King, Thomas	5
Coming Through Slaughter	Ondaatje, Michael	5
Solomon Gursky Was Here	Richler, Mordecai	5
Wilderness Tips	Atwood, Margaret	5
Who Has Seen the Wind	Mitchell, W.O.	4
History of Emily Montague, The	Brooke, Frances	4
Pélagie	Maillet, Antonine	4
Canadian Short Fiction	New, W.H. (ed.)	4
Anne of Green Gables	Montgomery, L.M.	4
Bird in the House, A	Laurence, Margaret	4
Englishman's Boy, The	Vanderhaeghe, Guy	4
Malcolm's Katie	Crawford, Isabella Valancy	4
Mixture of Frailties, A	Davies, Robertson	4
Such is My Beloved	Callaghan, Morley	4
Halfbreed	Campbell, Maria	4
Barometer Rising	MacLennan, Hugh	4
Canadian Poetry (2 vols.)	Lecker, Robert and Jack David (eds.)	4
Beautiful Losers	Cohen, Leonard	4
Second Scroll, The	Klein, A.M.	4
Making a Difference: Canadian Multicultural Literature	Kambourelli, Smaro	4
Improved by Cultivation: English Canadian Prose to 1914	Moyles, R.G.	4
Jade Peony, The	Choy, Wayson	4
Book of Jessica, The	Griffiths, L. and M. Campbell	4

Title	Author	Occurrences
Running in the Family	Ondaatje, Michael	3
Belle-Soeurs, Les	Tremblay, Michel	3
Blood Relations	Pollock, Sharon	3
Good Night Desdemona (Good Morning Juliet)	MacDonald, Ann-Marie	3
Antoinette de Mirecourt	Leprohon, Rosanna	3
Alias Grace	Atwood, Margaret	3
Two Solitudes	MacLennan, Hugh	3
Away	Urquhart, Jane	3
Loved and the Lost, The	Callaghan, Morley	3
Mauve Desert	Brossard, Nicole	3
Discovery of Strangers, A	Wiebe, Rudy	3
Funny Boy	Selvadurai, Shyam	3
Lamp at Noon and Other Stories, The	Ross, Sinclair	3
Bear	Engel, Marian	3
What's Bred in the Bone	Davies, Robertson	3
Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz, The	Richler, Mordecai	3
Looking for Livingstone: An Odyssey of Silence	Philip, Marlene Nourbese	3
In Another Place, Not Here	Brand, Dionne	3
Luck of Ginger Coffey, The	Moore, Brian	3
Man From Glengarry, The	Connor, Ralph	3
Afterlife of George Carwright, The	Steffler, John	3
Invention of the World, The	Hodgins, Jack	3
St. Urbain's Horseman	Richler, Mordecai	3
No New Land	Vassanji, M.G.	3
Badlands	Kroetsch, Robert	3
Chorus of Mushrooms, A	Goto, Hiromi	3
Write It On Your Heart	Robinson, Harry	3
In Search of April Raintree	Culleton, Beatrice	3
Bear Bones and Feathers	Halfe, Louise Bernice	3
Generals Die in Bed	Harrison, Charles Yale	3
Leaven of Malice	Davies, Robertson	3
Anthology of Canadian Native Literature in English, An	Moses, Daniel David and Terry Goldie (eds.)	3
Under the Volcano	Lowry, Malcolm	3
Ecstasy of Rita Joe, The	Ryga, George	2
Edible Woman, The	Atwood, Margaret	2
Riot	Moodie, Andrew	2
Poor Super Man	Fraser, Brad	2
Backwoods of Canada	Traill, Catherine Parr	2
Canadian Crusoes	Traill, Catherine Parr	2
They Shall Inherit the Earth	Callaghan, Morley	2
Thirty Acres	Ringuet	2
Kamouraska	Hébert, Anne	2

Title	Author	Occurrences
Swann	Shields, Carol	2
In the Village of Viger and Other Stories	Scott, Duncan Campbell	2
Home Truths: Selected Canadian Stories	Gallant, Mavis	2
Open Secrets	Munro, Alice	2
Anthology of Canadian Literature in English (2 vols.)	Bennett, Donna and Brown, Russell	2
Temptations of Big Bear, The	Wiebe, Rudy	2
Fugitive Pieces	Michaels, Anne	2
She Tries Her Tongue, Her Silence Softly Breaks	Philip, Marlene Nourbese	2
Van de Graaff Days	Begamudré, Ven	2
Fortune, My Foe	Davies, Robertson	2
Emily of New Moon	Montgomery, L.M.	2
Friend of My Youth	Munro, Alice	2
This Side Jordan	Laurence, Margaret	2
Tomorrow-Tamer, The	Laurence, Margaret	2
Arctic Dreams and Nightmares	Ipellie, Alootook	2
Stranger Music: Selected Poems and Songs	Cohen, Leonard	2
Execution	McDougall, Colin	2
Lost Salt Gift of Blood, The	MacLeod, Alistair	2
Cat's Eye	Atwood, Margaret	2
Colonial Century, The: English-Canadian writing before Confederation	Smith, A.J.M. (ed.)	2
Cabbagetown	Garner, Hugh	2
Bodily Harm	Atwood, Margaret	2
Confessions of an Immigrant's Daughter	Salverson, Laura Goodman	2
Sojourner's Truth	Maracle, Lee	2
Food and Spirits	Brant, Beth	2
Princess Pocahantas and the Blue Spots	Mojica, Monique	2
Whylah Falls	Clarke, George Elliott	2
Ravensong	Maracle, Lee	2
Scorched-Wood People, The	Wiebe, Rudy	2
Engineer of Human Souls, The	Skvorecky, Josef	2
Manticore, The	Davies, Robertson	2
World of Wonders	Davies, Robertson	2
Rebel Angels	Davies, Robertson	2
Poets Between the Wars	Wilson, Milton (ed.)	2
Man Descending	Vanderhaeghe, Guy	2
We So Seldom Look on Love	Gowdy, Barbara	2
Modern Canadian Plays (vol. 1)	Wasserman, Jerry (ed.)	2
Fat Woman Next Door is Pregnant, The	Tremblay, Michel	2
Klee Wyck	Carr, Emily	2
Mrs. Golightly and Other Stories	Wilson, Ethel	2
Ghost in the Wheels	Birney, Earle	2

Title	Author	Occurrences
Canadian Poetry: Volume One	David, Jack and Robert Lecker (eds.)	2
Medium is the Massage, The	McLuhan, Marshall and Quentin Fiore	2
Technology and the Canadian Mind	Kroker, Arthur	2
Hamlet's Twin	Aquin, Hubert	2
Ink and Strawberries: An Anthology of Québec Women's Fiction	Daurio, Beverley and Louise von Flotow (eds.)	2
Generation X: Tales for an Accerlated Culture	Coupland, Douglas	2
Burning Water	Bowering, George	2
Cure for Death by Lightning, The	Anderson-Dargatz, Gail	2
Balconville	Fennario, David	2
Quiet in the Land	Chislett, Anne	1
Fronteras Americanas	Verdecchia, Guillermo	1
1837: The Farmers' Revolt	Salutin, Rick and Theatre Passe Muraille	1
Under the Skin	Lambert, Betty	1
Little Sister	MacLeod, Joan	1
Soldier Dreams, The	MacIvor, Daniel	1
Creeps	Freeman, David	1
Lion in the Streets	Thompson, Judith	1
Love and Anger	Walker, George F.	1
Life in the Clearings	Moodie, Susanna	1
Voyages: Short Narratives of Susanna Moodie	Moodie, Susanna	1
Forest and other gleanings : the fugitive writings of Catharine Parr Traill	Traill, Catherine Parr	1
Golden Dog, The	Kirby, William	1
Fruits of the Earth	Grove, Frederick Philip	1
Dream Like Mine, A	Kelly, M.T.	1
Where Nests the Water Hen	Roy, Gabrielle	1
Moons of Jupter, The	Munro, Alice	1
New Long Poem Anthology, The	Thesen, Sharon (ed.)	1
Other Selves	Minni, C.D.	1
Sans Souci and Other Stories	Brand, Dionne	1
Morley Callaghan's Stories	Callaghan, Morley	1
Joshua Then and Now	Richler, Mordecai	1
Book of Secrets	Vassanji, M.G.	1
Fables From the Women's Quarters	Harris, Claire	1
Drawing Down a Daughter	Harris, Claire	1
Dipped in Shadow	Harris, Claire	1
Borrowed Beauty	Tynes, Maxine	1
Woman Talking Woman	Tynes, Maxine	1
Door of My Heart, The	Tynes, Maxine	1
Title	Author	Occurrences

Women Do This Every Day: Selected Poems of Lillian Allen	Allen, Lillian	1
Black Girl Talk	Black Girl Talk Collective, The	1
Harriet's Daughter	Philip, Marlene Nourbese	1
Martha and Elvira: A One-Act Play	Braithwaite, Diana	1
No Language is Neutral	Brand, Dionne	1
Earth Day Magic	Brand, Dionne	1
Last of the Crazy People, The	Findley, Timothy	1
Butterfly Plague, The	Findley, Timothy	1
Stones	Findley, Timothy	1
Headhunter	Findley, Timothy	1
You Went Away	Findley, Timothy	1
Origin of Waves, The	Clarke, Austin	1
Prowler, The	Gunnars, Kristjana	1
Caprice	Bowering, George	1
Slash	Armstrong, Jeanette	1
Casino and Other Stories	Burnard, Bonnie	1
Poems Twice Told: The Boatman and Welcoming Disaster	Macpherson, Jay	1
Donnellys, The	Reaney, James	1
Winter Studies and Summer Rambles	Jameson, Anna	1
My Present Age	Vanderhaeghe, Guy	1
Time as History	Grant, George	1
Legends of Vancouver	Johnson, Pauline	1
Tecumseh	Mair, Charles	1
Technology and Empire	Grant, George	1
Essential McLuhan	McLuhan, Eric and Zingrone, Frank (eds.)	1
Cambodia	Fawcett, Brian	1
Kyotopolis	Moses, Daniel David	1
H in the Heart, An	Nichol, bp	1
Canadian Anthology	Klinck, C.E. and Watters, R.E.	1
Return of the Sphinx	MacLennan, Hugh	1
Oxford Book of Canadian Short Stories in English	Atwood, Margaret & Robert Weaver (eds.)	1
Selected Poems	Klein, A.M.	1
Search for America, A	Grove, Frederick Philip	1
Equations of Love	Wilson, Ethel	1
A Wild and Peculiar Joy: Selected Poems 1945-89	Layton, Irving	1
Walsh	Pollock, Sharon	1
Book of Small, The	Carr, Emily	1
Whirlpool, The	Urquhart, Jane	1
Canadian Brothers	Richardson, John	1
Jalna	De La Roche, Mazo	1

Title	Author	Occurrences
Black Madonna, The	Paci, F.G.	1
Other Solitudes: Canadian Multicultural Fiction	Hutcheon, Linda and Marion Richmond (eds.)	1
All My Relations	King, Thomas	1
Riverrun	Such, Peter	1
Stories by Canadian Women	Sullivan, Rosemary	1
Intertidal Life	Thomas, Audrey	1
Canadian Postmodern, The	Hutcheon, Linda	1
Fire on the water: an anthology of black Nova Scotian writing	Clarke, George Elliott	1
In This City	Clarke, Austin	1
Some Great Thing	Hill, Lawrence	1
Betrayal, The	Kreisel, Henry	1
Yellow Boots	Lysenko, Vera	1
Geography of Voice : Canadian literature of the South Asian diaspora	McGifford, Diane (ed.)	1
In a Glass House	Ricci, Nino	1
Salvation of Yasch Siemens, The	Wiebe, Armin	1
House of Hate	Janes, Percy	1
Story of Bobby O'Malley	Johnston, Wayne	1
For Those Who Hunt the Wounded Down	Richards, David Adams	1
Fall on Your Knees	MacDonald, Ann-Marie	1
Book of Eve, The	Beresford-Howe, Constance	1
Marriage Bed, The	Beresford-Howe, Constance	1
Night Studies	Beresford-Howe, Constance	1
Prospero's Daughter	Beresford-Howe, Constance	1
Serious Widow, A	Beresford-Howe, Constance	1
Constance Beresford-Howe Papers, The	Steele, Appolonia (ed.)	1
Sacred Legends	Ray, Carl and James Stevens (eds.)	1
Someday	Taylor, Drew Hayden	1
Keeper 'N Me	Wagamese, Richard	1
Breath Tracks	Armstrong, Jeannette	1
Native Canadiana	Scofield, Gregory	1
Season in the Life of Emmanuel, A	Blais, Marie-Claire	1
Rockbound	Day, Frank Parker	1
Great Canadian Animal Stories	Whitaker, Muriel	1
Magic for Marigold	Montgomery, L.M.	1
Waiting for the Whales	McFarlane, Sheryl	1
Eating Between the Lines	Major, Kevin	1
Oliver's Wars	Wilson, Budge	1
Stranger at Bay	Aker, Don	1
Jonathan Cleaned Up and Then He Heard a Sound	Munsch, Robert	1
Anne's House of Dreams	Montgomery, L.M.	1

Title	Author	Occurrences
Rilla of Ingleside	Montgomery, L.M.	1
Anne of Ingleside	Montgomery, L.M.	1
Blue Castle, The	Montgomery, L.M.	1
Jane of Lantern Hill	Montgomery, L.M.	1
Fragrance of Sweet-Grass, The : L.M. Montgomery's heroines and the pursuit of romance	Epperly, Elizabeth	1
Harvesting thistles : the textual garden of L.M. Montgomery, essays on her novels and journals	Rubio, Mary	1
Such a Long Journey	Mistry, Rohinton	1
Pale as Real Ladies: Poems for Pauline Johnson	Crate, Joan	1
New Oxford book of Canadian verse in English, The	Atwood, Margaret (ed.)	1
Blood Ties	Richards, David Adams	1
Mister Sandman	Gowdy, Barbara	1
Sticks and Stones	Reaney, James	1
Wild Animals I Have Known	Seton, E.T.	1
Rooms for Rent in the Outer Planets	Purdy, Al	1
Brébeuf and his Brethren	Pratt, E.J.	1
Towards the Last Spike	Pratt, E.J.	1
Dance on the Earth	Laurence, Margaret	1
Fortune My Foe and Eros at Breakfast	Davies, Robertson	1
Tempest-Tost	Davies, Robertson	1
Cinnamon Peeler, The: Selected Poems	Ondaatje, Michael	1
Canadian Culture: An Introductory Reader	Cameron, Elspeth	1
New Contexts of Canadian Criticism	Heble, Ajay, Donna Palmateer Penee, and J.R. (Tim) Struthers (eds.)	1
Inspecting the Vaults	McCormack, Eric	1
From the Fifteenth District	Gallant, Mavis	1
Inscriptions	Cooley, Dennis (ed.)	1
A/long prairie lines	Lenoski, Daniel (ed.)	1
Fox	Sweatman, Margaret	1
Trouble with Heroes, The	Vanderhaeghe, Guy	1
Nineteenth Century Canadian Stories	Arnason, David (ed.)	1
Under the Ribs of Death	Marlyn, John	1
By Grand Central Station I Sat Down and Wept	Smart, Elizabeth	1
Crackpot	Wiseman, Adele	1
Quebec Anthology, The (1830-1990)	Cohen, Matt and Wayne Grady eds.	1
Tamarind Mem	Rau Badami, Anita	1
In the Shadow of the Wind	Hébert, Anne	1
Gutenberg Galaxy, The	McLuhan, Marshall	1
Maps and Dreams	Brody, Hugh	1
Yellow Pages, The	Markotic, Nicole	1

Title	Author	Occurrences
Playing dead: a contemplation concerning the Arctic	Wiebe, Rudy	1
Zoom Away	Wynne-Jones, Tim	1
Only Snow in Havana, The	Hay, Elizabeth	1
Harpoon of the Hunter	Markoosie	1
Occupation of Wendy Rose, The	Lill, Wendy	1
Modern Canadian Plays (vol. 2)	Wasserman, Jerry (ed.)	1
7 Stories	Panych, Morris	1
2000	MacLeod, Joan	1
Stepsure Letters, The	McCulloch, T.	1
E.J. Pratt: Selected Poems	Pratt, E.J.	1
Glass Air, The: Selected Poems	Page, P.K.	1
Word of Mouth	Farrant, M.A.C.	1
Daughters of Copper Woman	Cameron, Ann	1
Dance Me Outside	Kinsella, W.P.	1
Many-Mouthed Birds: Contemporary Writing by Chinese Canadians	Lee, Bennet & Jim Wong-Chu (eds.)	1
No More Watno Dur	Binning, Sadhu	1
Diamond Grill	Wah, Fred	1
Vancouver Short Stories	Gerson, Carole (ed.)	1
Rain Barrel, The	Bowering, George	1
Completed Field Notes	Kroetsch, Robert	1
Salvage	Marlatt, Daphne	1
This is For You, Anna	Anna Project, The	1
Rumours of Our Death	Walker, George F.	1
Saga of the Wet Hens, The	Marchessault, Jovette	1
Polygraph	Lepage, Robert and M. Bressard	1
Ever Loving	Hollingsworth, Margaret	1
Diving	Hollingsworth, Margaret	1
Canadian Short Stories: Fifth Series	Weaver, Robert (ed.)	1
Nights Below Station Street	Richards, David Adams	1
Vision Tree, The: Selected Poems	Webb, Phyllis	1
Aurora	Thesen, Sharon	1
Aqueduct	Shikatanti, Gerry	1
Martyrology, The: Books 1 and 2	Nichol, bp	1
Frog Moon	Tostevin, Lola Lemire	1
Russian Album, The	Ignatieff, Michael	1
Mechanical Bride, The: Folklore of Industrial Man	McLuhan, Marshall	1
Iroquois Fires	Dawendine [Bernice Loft Winslow]	1
Anatomy of Criticism	Frye, Northrop	1
To Master, a Long Goodnight	Gysin, Brion	1
Plague of the Gorgeous and Other Tales	Armstrong, Gordon, et al.	1

Title	Author	Occurrences
Indian Medicine Shows, The	Moses, Daniel David	1
Blade, Job's Wife, and Video: 3 Plays	Nolan, Yvette	1
Doc	Pollock, Sharon	1
Mother Tongue	Quan, Betty	1
Afrika Solo	Sears, Djanet	1
Bootlegger Blues, The	Taylor, Drew Hayden	1
Other Side of the Dark, The	Thompson, Judith	1
Don't: A Woman's Word	Danica, Elly	1
Really Good Brown Girl, A	Dumont, Marilyn	1
Zero Hour	Gunnars, Kristjana	1
First Garden, The	Hébert, Anne	1
Amnesia	Cooper, Douglas	1
Ricordi: Things Remembered. An Anthology of Short Stories	Minni, C.D.	1
Substance of Forgetting, The	Gunnars, Kristjana	1
Over Prairie Trails	Grove, Frederick Philip	1
Peckertracks	Dragland, Stan	1
Murder in the Dark	Atwood, Margaret	1
Uhuru Street	Vassanji, M.G.	1
Aspiring Women: Short Stories by Canadian Women, 1880-1990	McMullen, Lorraine and Sandra Campbell (eds.)	1
As Birds Bring Forth the Sun	MacLeod, Alistair	1
Things as They Are?	Vanderhaeghe, Guy	1
Moslem Wife and Other Stories, The	Gallant, Mavis	1
Six Canadian Plays	Hamill, Tony (ed.)	1
Places Far From Ellesmere	Van Herk, Aritha	1
Green Library, The	Kulyk-Keefer, Janice	1
Krekshuns	Bolen, Dennis	1
Antiphonary	Aquin, Hubert	1
No Man in the House	Foster, Cecil	1
Son of a Smaller Hero	Richler, Mordecai	1
Innocent Traveller, The	Wilson, Ethel	1
Robber Bride, The	Atwood, Margaret	1
Canadian Exploration Literature	Warkentin, Germaine (ed.)	1
Sketches of Upper Canada	Howison, John	1
Troutstream	Lynch, Gerald	1
Civil Elegies	Lee, Dennis	1
Selected Stories of E.W. Thompson	Thompson, E.W.	1
Keep That Candle Burning Bright	Wallace, Bronwen	1
readings on library reserve		1
Lives of the Saints	Ricci, Nino	1
Lyre of Orpheus, The	Davies, Robertson	1
Cunning Man, The	Davies, Robertson	1

Title	Author	Occurrences
Nymph and the Lamp, The	Raddall, Thomas H.	1
Incomparable Atuk, The	Richler, Mordecai	1
Work of Margaret Laurence, The	Sorfleet, J. (ed.)	1
Blue Mountains of China, The	Wiebe, Rudy	1
Québec Fiction: The English Fact	Sorfleet, J. (ed.)	1
Poems of Bliss Carman, The	Sorfleet, J. (ed.)	1
Selected Poetry of Duncan Campbell Scott	Scott, Duncan Campbell	1
Selected Poems by Margaret Avison	Avison, Margaret	1
Exchange of Gifts, An: Poems New and Selected	Nowlan, Alden	1
Circle Game, The	Atwood, Margaret	1
Desert of the Heart	Rule, Jane	1
After the Fire	Rule, Jane	1
Against the Season	Rule, Jane	1
Memory Board	Rule, Jane	1
This is Not For You	Rule, Jane	1
Young in One Another's Arms, The	Rule, Jane	1
Inland Passage	Rule, Jane	1

Appendix 3:

Texts taught in English and Comparative Literature courses on the literatures of Canada (sorted by author)

Author	Title	Occurrences
Aker, Don	Stranger at Bay	1
Allen, Lillian	Women Do This Every Day: Selected Poems of Lillian Allen	1
Anderson-Dargatz, Gail	Cure for Death by Lightning, The	2
Anna Project, The	This is For You, Anna	1
Aquin, Hubert	Antiphonary	1
Aquin, Hubert	Hamlet's Twin	2
Armstrong, Gordon, et al.	Plague of the Gorgeous and Other Tales	1
Armstrong, Jeanette	Slash	1
Armstrong, Jeannette	Breath Tracks	1
Arnason, David (ed.)	Nineteenth Century Canadian Stories	1
Atwood, Margaret	Alias Grace	3
Atwood, Margaret	Bodily Harm	2
Atwood, Margaret	Cat's Eye	2
Atwood, Margaret	Circle Game, The	1
Atwood, Margaret	Edible Woman, The	2
Atwood, Margaret	Handmaid's Tale, The	10
Atwood, Margaret	Journals of Susanna Moodie, The	8
Atwood, Margaret	Lady Oracle	7
Atwood, Margaret	Murder in the Dark	1
Atwood, Margaret	Robber Bride, The	1
Atwood, Margaret	Surfacing	9
Atwood, Margaret	Wilderness Tips	5
Atwood, Margaret & Robert Weaver (eds.)	Oxford Book of Canadian Short Stories in English	1
Atwood, Margaret (ed.)	New Oxford book of Canadian verse in English, The	1
Avison, Margaret	Selected Poems by Margaret Avison	1
Begamudré, Ven	Van de Graaff Days	2
Beresford-Howe, Constance	Book of Eve, The	1
Beresford-Howe, Constance	Marriage Bed, The	1
Beresford-Howe, Constance	Night Studies	1
Beresford-Howe, Constance	Prospero's Daughter	1

Author	Title	Occurrences
Beresford-Howe, Constance	Serious Widow, A	1
Binning, Sadhu	No More Watno Dur	1
Birney, Earle	Ghost in the Wheels	2
Black Girl Talk Collective, The	Black Girl Talk	1
Blais, Marie-Claire	Season in the Life of Emmanuel, A	1
Bolen, Dennis	Krekshuns	1
Bowering, George	Burning Water	2
Bowering, George	Caprice	1
Bowering, George	Rain Barrel, The	1
Braithwaite, Diana	Martha and Elvira: A One-Act Play	1
Brand, Dionne	Earth Day Magic	1
Brand, Dionne	In Another Place, Not Here	3
Brand, Dionne	No Language is Neutral	1
Brand, Dionne	Sans Souci and Other Stories	1
Brant, Beth	Food and Spirits	2
Brody, Hugh	Maps and Dreams	1
Brooke, Frances	History of Emily Montague, The	4
Brossard, Nicole	Mauve Desert	3
Russell Brown, Donna Bennett, and Nathalie Cooke	Anthology of Canadian Literature in English (1 vol.)	20
Brown, Russell and Donna Bennett	Anthology of Canadian Literature in English (2 vols.)	2
Buckler, Ernest	Mountain and the Valley, The	10
Burnard, Bonnie	Casino and Other Stories	1
Callaghan, Morley	Loved and the Lost, The	3
Callaghan, Morley	Morley Callaghan's Stories	1
Callaghan, Morley	Such is My Beloved	4
Callaghan, Morley	They Shall Inherit the Earth	2
Cameron, Ann	Daughters of Copper Woman	1
Cameron, Elspeth	Canadian Culture: An Introductory Reader	1
Campbell, Maria	Halfbreed	4
Carr, Emily	Book of Small, The	1
Carr, Emily	Klee Wyck	2
Carrier, Roch	La Guerre, Yes Sir!	6
Chislett, Anne	Quiet in the Land	1
Choy, Wayson	Jade Peony, The	4
Clarke, Austin	In This City	1
Clarke, Austin	Origin of Waves, The	1
Clarke, George Elliott	Fire on the water: an anthology of black Nova Scotian writing	1
Clarke, George Elliott	Whylah Falls	2
Cohen, Leonard	Beautiful Losers	4
Cohen, Leonard	Stranger Music: Selected Poems and Songs	2

Author	Title	Occurrences
Cohen, Matt and Wayne Grady eds.	Quebec Anthology, The (1830-1990)	1
Connor, Ralph	Man From Glengarry, The	3
Cooley, Dennis (ed.)	Inscriptions	1
Cooper, Douglas	Amnesia	1
Coupland, Douglas	Generation X: Tales for an Accerlated Culture	2
Crate, Joan	Pale as Real Ladies: Poems for Pauline Johnson	1
Crawford, Isabella Valancy	Malcolm's Katie	4
Culleton, Beatrice	In Search of April Raintree	3
Danica, Elly	Don't: A Woman's Word	1
Daurio, Beverley and Louise von Flotow (eds.)	Ink and Strawberries: An Anthology of Québec Women's Fiction	2
David, Jack and Robert Lecker (eds.)	Canadian Poetry: Volume One	2
Davies, Robertson	Cunning Man, The	1
Davies, Robertson	Fifth Business	11
Davies, Robertson	Fortune My Foe and Eros at Breakfast	1
Davies, Robertson	Fortune, My Foe	2
Davies, Robertson	Leaven of Malice	3
Davies, Robertson	Lyre of Orpheus, The	1
Davies, Robertson	Manticore, The	2
Davies, Robertson	Mixture of Frailties, A	4
Davies, Robertson	Rebel Angels	2
Davies, Robertson	Tempest-Tost	1
Davies, Robertson	What's Bred in the Bone	3
Davies, Robertson	World of Wonders	2
Dawendine [Bernice Loft Winslow]	Iroquois Fires	1
Day, Frank Parker	Rockbound	1
De La Roche, Mazo	Jalna	1
De Mille, James	Strange Manuscript Found in a Copper Cylinder, A	7
Dragland, Stan	Peckertracks	1
Dumont, Marilyn	Really Good Brown Girl, A	1
Duncan, Sara Jeanette	Imperialist, The	14
Engel, Marian	Bear	3
Epperly, Elizabeth	Fragrance of Sweet-Grass, The : L.M. Montgomery's heroines and the pursuit of romance	1
Farrant, M.A.C.	Word of Mouth	1
Fawcett, Brian	Cambodia	1
Fennario, David	Balconville	2
Findley, Timothy	Butterfly Plague, The	1
Findley, Timothy	Famous Last Words	7
Findley, Timothy	Headhunter	1
Findley, Timothy	Last of the Crazy People, The	1

Author	Title	Occurrences
Findley, Timothy	Not Wanted on the Voyage	7
Findley, Timothy	Stones	1
Findley, Timothy	Wars, The	7
Findley, Timothy	You Went Away	1
Foster, Cecil	No Man in the House	1
Fraser, Brad	Poor Super Man	2
Freeman, David	Creeps	1
Frye, Northrop	Anatomy of Criticism	1
Gallant, Mavis	From the Fifteenth District	1
Gallant, Mavis	Home Truths: Selected Canadian Stories	2
Gallant, Mavis	Moslem Wife and Other Stories, The	1
Garner, Hugh	Cabbagetown	2
Geddes, Gary (ed.)	15 Canadian Poets x 2	14
Gerson, Carole (ed.)	Vancouver Short Stories	1
Gerson, Carole and Gwen Davies (eds.)	Canadian Poetry From the Beginnings through WW1	8
Goto, Hiromi	Chorus of Mushrooms, A	3
Gowdy, Barbara	Mister Sandman	1
Gowdy, Barbara	We So Seldom Look on Love	2
Grant, George	Technology and Empire	1
Grant, George	Time as History	1
Griffiths, Linda and Maria Campbell	Book of Jessica, The	4
Grove, Frederick Philip	Fruits of the Earth	1
Grove, Frederick Philip	Over Prairie Trails	1
Grove, Frederick Philip	Search for America, A	1
Grove, Frederick Philip	Settlers of the Marsh	8
Gunnars, Kristjana	Prowler, The	1
Gunnars, Kristjana	Substance of Forgetting, The	1
Gunnars, Kristjana	Zero Hour	1
Gysin, Brion	To Master, a Long Goodnight	1
Halfe, Louise Bernice	Bear Bones and Feathers	3
Haliburton, T.C.	Clockmaker, The	6
Hamill, Tony (ed.)	Six Canadian Plays	1
Harris, Claire	Dipped in Shadow	1
Harris, Claire	Drawing Down a Daughter	1
Harris, Claire	Fables From the Women's Quarters	1
Harrison, Charles Yale	Generals Die in Bed	3
Hay, Elizabeth	Only Snow in Havana, The	1
Hébert, Anne	First Garden, The	1
Hébert, Anne	In the Shadow of the Wind	1
Hébert, Anne	Kamouraska	2

Author	Title	Occurrences
Heble, Palmateer Penee, and Struthers (eds.)	New Contexts of Canadian Criticism	1
Highway, Tomson	Dry Lips Oughta Move to Kapuskasing	10
Hill, Lawrence	Some Great Thing	1
Hodgins, Jack	Invention of the World, The	3
Hollingsworth, Margaret	Diving	1
Hollingsworth, Margaret	Ever Loving	1
Howison, John	Sketches of Upper Canada	1
Hutcheon, Linda	Canadian Postmodern, The	1
Hutcheon, Linda and Marion Richmond (eds.)	Other Solitudes: Canadian Multicultural Fiction	1
Ignatieff, Michael	Russian Album, The	1
Ipellie, Alootook	Arctic Dreams and Nightmares	2
Jameson, Anna	Winter Studies and Summer Rambles	1
Janes, Percy	House of Hate	1
Johnson, Pauline	Legends of Vancouver	1
Johnston, Wayne	Story of Bobby O'Malley	1
Kambourelli, Smaro	Making a Difference: Canadian Multicultural Literature	4
Kelly, M.T.	Dream Like Mine, A	1
King, Thomas	All My Relations	1
King, Thomas	Green Grass, Running Water	16
King, Thomas	Medicine River	5
Kinsella, W.P.	Dance Me Outside	1
Kirby, William	Golden Dog, The	1
Klein, A.M.	Second Scroll, The	4
Klein, A.M.	Selected Poems	1
Klinck, C.E. and Watters, R.E.	Canadian Anthology	1
Kogawa, Joy	Obasan	15
Kreisel, Henry	Betrayal, The	1
Kroetsch, Robert	Badlands	3
Kroetsch, Robert	Completed Field Notes	1
Kroetsch, Robert	Studhorse Man, The	6
Kroker, Arthur	Technology and the Canadian Mind	2
Kulyk-Keefer, Janice	Green Library, The	1
Lambert, Betty	Under the Skin	1
Laurence, Margaret	Bird in the House, A	4
Laurence, Margaret	Dance on the Earth	1
Laurence, Margaret	Diviners, The	14
Laurence, Margaret	Fire-Dwellers, The	6
Laurence, Margaret	Jest of God, A	6
Laurence, Margaret	Stone Angel, The	9
Laurence, Margaret	This Side Jordan	2

Author	Title	Occurrences
Laurence, Margaret	Tomorrow-Tamer, The	2
Layton, Irving	A Wild and Peculiar Joy: Selected Poems 1945-89	1
Leacock, Stephen	Arcadian Adventures with the Idle Rich	6
Leacock, Stephen	Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town	20
Lecker, Robert and Jack David (eds.)	Canadian Poetry (2 vols.)	4
Lee, Bennet & Jim Wong-Chu (eds.)	Many-Mouthed Birds: Contemporary Writing by Chinese Canadians	1
Lee, Dennis	Civil Elegies	1
Lee, Sky	Disappearing Moon Café	8
Lenoski, Daniel (ed.)	A/long prairie lines	1
Lepage, Robert and M. Bressard	Polygraph	1
Leprohon, Rosanna	Antoinette de Mirecourt	3
Lill, Wendy	Occupation of Wendy Rose, The	1
Lowry, Malcolm	Under the Volcano	3
Lynch, Gerald	Troutstream	1
Lysenko, Vera	Yellow Boots	1
MacDonald, Ann-Marie	Fall on Your Knees	1
MacDonald, Ann-Marie	Good Night Desdemona (Good Morning Juliet)	3
MacIvor, Daniel	Soldier Dreams, The	1
MacLennan, Hugh	Barometer Rising	4
MacLennan, Hugh	Return of the Sphinx	1
MacLennan, Hugh	Two Solitudes	3
MacLennan, Hugh	Watch that Ends the Night, The	5
MacLeod, Alistair	As Birds Bring Forth the Sun	1
MacLeod, Alistair	Lost Salt Gift of Blood, The	2
MacLeod, Joan	2000	1
MacLeod, Joan	Little Sister	1
Macpherson, Jay	Poems Twice Told: The Boatman and Welcoming Disaster	1
Maillet, Antonine	Pélagie	4
Mair, Charles	Tecumseh	1
Major, Kevin	Eating Between the Lines	1
Maracle, Lee	Ravensong	2
Maracle, Lee	Sojourner's Truth	2
Marchessault, Jovette	Saga of the Wet Hens, The	1
Markoosie	Harpoon of the Hunter	1
Markotic, Nicole	Yellow Pages, The	1
Marlatt, Daphne	Ana Historic	6
Marlatt, Daphne	Salvage	1
Marlyn, John	Under the Ribs of Death	1
McCormack, Eric	Inspecting the Vaults	1
McCulloch, T.	Stepsure Letters, The	1

Author	Title	Occurrences
McDougall, Colin	Execution	2
McFarlane, Sheryl	Waiting for the Whales	1
McGifford, Diane (ed.)	Geography of Voice : Canadian literature of the South Asian diaspora	1
McLuhan, Eric and Zingrone, Frank (eds.)	Essential McLuhan	1
McLuhan, Marshall	Gutenberg Galaxy, The	1
McLuhan, Marshall	Mechanical Bride, The: Folklore of Industrial Man	1
McLuhan, Marshall and Quentin Fiore	Medium is the Massage, The	2
McMullen, Lorraine and Sandra Campbell (eds.)	Aspiring Women: Short Stories by Canadian Women, 1880-1990	1
Michaels, Anne	Fugitive Pieces	2
Minni, C.D.	Other Selves	1
Minni, C.D.	Ricordi: Things Remembered. An Anthology of Short Stories	1
Mistry, Rohinton	Such a Long Journey	1
Mitchell, W.O.	Who Has Seen the Wind	4
Mojica, Monique	Princess Pocahantas and the Blue Spots	2
Montgomery, L.M.	Anne of Green Gables	4
Montgomery, L.M.	Anne of Ingleside	1
Montgomery, L.M.	Anne's House of Dreams	1
Montgomery, L.M.	Blue Castle, The	1
Montgomery, L.M.	Emily of New Moon	2
Montgomery, L.M.	Jane of Lantern Hill	1
Montgomery, L.M.	Magic for Marigold	1
Montgomery, L.M.	Rilla of Ingleside	1
Moodie, Andrew	Riot	2
Moodie, Susanna	Life in the Clearings	1
Moodie, Susanna	Roughing it in the Bush	15
Moodie, Susanna	Voyages: Short Narratives of Susanna Moodie	1
Moore, Brian	Luck of Ginger Coffey, The	3
Moses, Daniel David	Indian Medicine Shows, The	1
Moses, Daniel David	Kyotopolis	1
Moses, Daniel David and Terry Goldie (eds.)	Anthology of Canadian Native Literature in English, An	3
Moyles, R.G.	Improved by Cultivation: English Canadian Prose to 1914	4
Munro, Alice	Friend of My Youth	2
Munro, Alice	Lives of Girls and Women	9
Munro, Alice	Moons of Jupter, The	1
Munro, Alice	Open Secrets	2
Munro, Alice	Who Do You Think You Are?	7
Munsch, Robert	Jonathan Cleaned Up and Then He Heard a Sound	1

Author	Title	Occurrences
New, W.H. (ed.)	Canadian Short Fiction	4
Nichol, bp	H in the Heart, An	1
Nichol, bp	Martyrology, The: Books 1 and 2	1
Nolan, Yvette	Blade, Job's Wife, and Video: 3 Plays	1
Nowlan, Alden	Exchange of Gifts, An: Poems New and Selected	1
O'Hagan, Howard	Tay John	9
Ondaatje, Michael	Cinnamon Peeler, The: Selected Poems	1
Ondaatje, Michael	Collected Works of Billy the Kid, The	5
Ondaatje, Michael	Coming Through Slaughter	5
Ondaatje, Michael	English Patient, The	13
Ondaatje, Michael	In the Skin of a Lion	15
Ondaatje, Michael	Running in the Family	3
Ostenso, Martha	Wild Geese	6
Paci, F.G.	Black Madonna, The	1
Page, P.K.	Glass Air, The: Selected Poems	1
Panych, Morris	7 Stories	1
Philip, Marlene Nourbese	Harriet's Daughter	1
Philip, Marlene Nourbese	Looking for Livingstone: An Odyssey of Silence	3
Philip, Marlene Nourbese	She Tries Her Tongue, Her Silence Softly Breaks	2
Pollock, Sharon	Blood Relations	3
Pollock, Sharon	Doc	1
Pollock, Sharon	Walsh	1
Pratt, E.J.	Brébeuf and his Brethren	1
Pratt, E.J.	E.J. Pratt: Selected Poems	1
Pratt, E.J.	Towards the Last Spike	1
Purdy, Al	Rooms for Rent in the Outer Planets	1
Quan, Betty	Mother Tongue	1
Raddall, Thomas H.	Nymph and the Lamp, The	1
Rau Badami, Anita	Tamarind Mem	1
Ray, Carl and James Stevens (eds.)	Sacred Legends	1
Reaney, James	Donnellys, The	1
Reaney, James	Sticks and Stones	1
Ricci, Nino	In a Glass House	1
Ricci, Nino	Lives of the Saints	1
Richards, David Adams	Blood Ties	1
Richards, David Adams	For Those Who Hunt the Wounded Down	1
Richards, David Adams	Nights Below Station Street	1
Richardson, J	Wacousta	16
Richardson, John	Canadian Brothers	1
Richler, Mordecai	Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz, The	3
Richler, Mordecai	Incomparable Atuk, The	1
Richler, Mordecai	Joshua Then and Now	1

Author	Title	Occurrences
Richler, Mordecai	Solomon Gursky Was Here	5
Richler, Mordecai	Son of a Smaller Hero	1
Richler, Mordecai	St. Urbain's Horseman	3
Ringuet	Thirty Acres	2
Robinson, Harry	Write It On Your Heart	3
Ross, Sinclair	As For Me and My House	20
Ross, Sinclair	Lamp at Noon and Other Stories, The	3
Roy, Gabrielle	Tin Flute, The	5
Roy, Gabrielle	Where Nests the Water Hen	1
Rubio, Mary	Harvesting thistles : the textual garden of L.M. Montgomery, essays on her novels and journals	1
Rule, Jane	After the Fire	1
Rule, Jane	Against the Season	1
Rule, Jane	Desert of the Heart	1
Rule, Jane	Inland Passage	1
Rule, Jane	Memory Board	1
Rule, Jane	This is Not For You	1
Rule, Jane	Young in One Another's Arms, The	1
Ryga, George	Ecstasy of Rita Joe, The	2
Salutin, Rick and Theatre Passe Muraille	1837: The Farmers' Revolt	1
Salverson, Laura Goodman	Confessions of an Immigrant's Daughter	2
Scofield, Gregory	Native Canadiana	1
Scott, Duncan Campbell	In the Village of Viger and Other Stories	2
Scott, Duncan Campbell	Selected Poetry of Duncan Campbell Scott	1
Sears, Djanet	Afrika Solo	1
Selvadurai, Shyam	Funny Boy	3
Seton, E.T.	Wild Animals I Have Known	1
Shields, Carol	Stone Diaries, The	6
Shields, Carol	Swann	2
Shikatanti, Gerry	Aqueduct	1
Skvorecky, Josef	Engineer of Human Souls, The	2
Smart, Elizabeth	By Grand Central Station I Sat Down and Wept	1
Smith, A.J.M. (ed.)	Colonial Century, The: English-Canadian writing before Confederation	2
Sorfleet, J. (ed.)	Poems of Bliss Carman, The	1
Sorfleet, J. (ed.)	Québec Fiction: The English Fact	1
Sorfleet, J. (ed.)	Work of Margaret Laurence, The	1
Steele, Appolonia (ed.)	Constance Beresford-Howe Papers, The	1
Steffler, John	Afterlife of George Carwright, The	3
Such, Peter	Riverrun	1
Sullivan, Rosemary	Stories by Canadian Women	1
Sweatman, Margaret	Fox	1

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Taylor, Drew Hayden	Bootlegger Blues, The	1
Taylor, Drew Hayden	Someday	1
Thesen, Sharon	Aurora	1
Thesen, Sharon (ed.)	New Long Poem Anthology, The	1
Thomas, Audrey	Intertidal Life	1
Thompson, E.W.	Selected Stories of E.W. Thompson	1
Thompson, Judith	Lion in the Streets	1
Thompson, Judith	Other Side of the Dark, The	1
Tomson Highway	Rez Sisters, The	8
Tostevin, Lola Lemire	Frog Moon	1
Traill, Catherine Parr	Backwoods of Canada	2
Traill, Catherine Parr	Canadian Crusoes	2
Traill, Catherine Parr	Forest and other gleanings : the fugitive writings of Catharine Parr Traill	1
Tremblay, Michel	Belle-Soeurs, Les	3
Tremblay, Michel	Fat Woman Next Door is Pregnant, The	2
Tynes, Maxine	Borrowed Beauty	1
Tynes, Maxine	Door of My Heart, The	1
Tynes, Maxine	Woman Talking Woman	1
Urquhart, Jane	Away	3
Urquhart, Jane	Whirlpool, The	1
Van Herk, Aritha	Places Far From Ellesmere	1
Vanderhaeghe, Guy	Englishman's Boy, The	4
Vanderhaeghe, Guy	Man Descending	2
Vanderhaeghe, Guy	My Present Age	1
Vanderhaeghe, Guy	Things as They Are?	1
Vanderhaeghe, Guy	Trouble with Heroes, The	1
Vassanji, M.G.	Book of Secrets	1
Vassanji, M.G.	No New Land	3
Vassanji, M.G.	Uhuru Street	1
Verdecchia, Guillermo	Fronteras Americanas	1
Wagamese, Richard	Keeper 'N Me	1
Wah, Fred	Diamond Grill	1
Walker, George F.	Love and Anger	1
Walker, George F.	Rumours of Our Death	1
Wallace, Bronwen	Keep That Candle Burning Bright	1
Warkentin, Germaine (ed.)	Canadian Exploration Literature	1
Wasserman, Jerry (ed.)	Modern Canadian Plays (vol. 1)	2
Wasserman, Jerry (ed.)	Modern Canadian Plays (vol. 2)	1
Watson, Sheila	Double Hook, The	12
Weaver, Robert (ed.)	Canadian Short Stories: Fifth Series	1
Webb, Phyllis	Vision Tree, The: Selected Poems	1
Whitaker, Muriel	Great Canadian Animal Stories	1

Author	Title	Occurrences
Wiebe, Armin	Salvation of Yasch Siemens, The	1
Wiebe, Rudy	Blue Mountains of China, The	1
Wiebe, Rudy	Discovery of Strangers, A	3
Wiebe, Rudy	Playing dead : a contemplation concerning the Arctic	1
Wiebe, Rudy	Scorched-Wood People, The	2
Wiebe, Rudy	Temptations of Big Bear, The	2
Wilson, Budge	Oliver's Wars	1
Wilson, Ethel	Equations of Love	1
Wilson, Ethel	Innocent Traveller, The	1
Wilson, Ethel	Mrs. Golightly and Other Stories	2
Wilson, Ethel	Swamp Angel	6
Wilson, Milton (ed.)	Poets Between the Wars	2
Wiseman, Adele	Crackpot	1
Wiseman, Adele	Sacrifice, The	5
Wynne-Jones, Tim	Zoom Away	1
	coursepack of other photocopied readings	13
	readings on library reserve	1